POSTMASTER
Send address changes to:
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

AL-FAJR
JERUSALEM
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY
(USPS 686-630

APRIL 26, 1985
VOL. VI,NO. 260

16 PAGES
IS 450

xp. 85/04
Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Palestinian Taxi Driver Murdered

A Palestinian taxi driver was shot dead, execution-style, April 23 in what appears to be an act of arbitrary revenge for the killing four days earlier of an Israeli taxi driver in Jerusalem. The 32-year-old Palestinian, Khamis Tutunji, was found shortly after midnight in his taxi in front of the Israeli settlement Ma'aleh Adumim, on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway.

He had been shot three times in the back of the head by a M-16 rifle of Israeli army issue. Tutunji was a resident of Shu'fat refugee camp, north of Jerusalem, and the father of five children. He was found with his identification card in his hand, police theorise, because the murderer sought proof that he was an Arab. There were no reports of arrests or suspects.

The Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar* reported April 24 that police have evidence that Tutunji's taxi was waved down by Israelis who asked him to go on the road leading to the settlement of Ma'aleh Adumim. He was then stopped at what appeared to be a military roadblock where a man in an army uniform asked him to present his ID. When he did, they shot him three times in the head and fled, the paper said. *Hadashot* reported April 23 that one of the bullets was fired from inside the car and the other two from outside in order to confuse the evidence. The police believe the assailants were amateurs, the paper reported.

The Israeli press reported that police are questioning relatives and friends of the Israeli driver, David Caspi, a resident of Neve Ya'acov settlement north of Shu'fat who was killed April 19, for leads in the Tutunji murder.

Police are holding seven Palestinians in connection with the killing of Caspi. One suspect, a 16-year-old Shu'fat resident, was arrested from Maqassed Hospital where he sought treatment for bullet wounds. Police found blood in Caspi's car which had been abandoned near Shu'fat. They had suspected that the assailant at first missed Caspi and shot the teenager. Police later announced, however, that the teenager had confessed to the murder and gave the names of five accomplices. The teenager also told police that they had needed the taxi for a robbery.

The seven suspects are all residents of Shu'fat but were not related to Tutunji.

Friends of slain taxi driver Khamis Tutunji (inset), many of them taxi drivers themselves, walk with his body at the funeral at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem Wednesday, April 24./AO photo

Senior Israeli police sources were quoted in *The Jerusalem Post* as saying they feared a chain reaction of "terror attacks of revenge" would take place, and feared the "[illegible]" of relations between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem, which they described as being on "good terms" since 1967. During the burial of Caspi April 21 attendants shouted "Kahane is right" repeatedly in reference to the extremist member of Knesset's advocacy of fascist-like treatment of Palestinians. Israeli taxi drivers were seen in Jerusalem with their cars exhibiting signs that

continued on page 13

IN WAKE OF FEDA'I ATTACK

Police Raid Bureij, Killing Boy, 12

Israeli border police killed a 12-year-old boy and wounded a second young man April 19 in a confrontation with dozens of Bureij camp residents in Gaza who tried to prevent the police from demolishing the house of *feda'i* Fathi Garbawi, himself shot dead by Israeli soldiers the night before. Issa Isma'il died from a gunshot wound to his skull and Abd al-Hafiz Jodeh was wounded by a bullet that entered his right lung.

Israeli media reports admitted that only one soldier was seriously wounded as he and an officer friend walked towards the restaurant. The restaurant is located near the Shifa Hospital and is frequented mainly by Israeli soldiers.

Israeli border police units accompanied by bulldozers arrived early April 19 at Garbawi's house in Bureij camp and attempted to demolish it, a routine practice of collective punishment against families of *feda'iyin*. Dozens of camp residents protested and stood in their way. The police shot several times in the air and then directly into the crowds, killing the child and wounding the teenager. They also arrested several of the protesters. Israel Radio alleged that the police shot at the legs of demonstrators in the camp "who were endangering the lives of police by throwing stones."

Al Fajr Arabic daily reported April 23 that a military court in Gaza fined 12 Bureij residents IS15000 and gave them a nine-month suspended sentence. Forty others will be put on trial in the near future. The residents, ranging in age from 17 to 33, were arrested during the clash with the border police.

Kach Forms Old City 'Patrol'

Kach, the ultra-right-wing racist movement headed by controversial MK Meir Kahane, announced the establishment of a special armed unit to patrol the streets of East Jerusalem's predominantly Arab Old City "in order to maintain order." Movement spokesperson Jad Soterman vowed to "use force if we have to." The unit of 15 uniformed and armed men will "roam the streets of the Old City day and night." The main areas to be patrolled are Damascus gate, the Muslim neighbourhoods, and the Jewish quarter inside the walls.

The proposed unit was apparently announced in response to the mugging of an Israeli man near Damascus gate April 17. The assailants, carrying knives, made off with the man's wallet and left him slightly wounded. Israeli police announced April 22 that they arrested a 16-year-old Old City resident in connection with the robbery.

Kach (meaning "take" or "seize" in Hebrew) advocates racist incitement of the Arab population in order to drive them out of the country and make all of "Greater Israel" purely Jewish. It has perpetrated many acts of force against Arabs in the past. The movement was never taken seriously until the 1984 elections, when Kahane garnered enough support to win him a seat in the Israeli Knesset, entitling him to parliamentary immunity. This immunity was subsequently curtailed by the decision of a Knesset committee because of Kahane's use of his legal freedom to harass the Arab population.

Officials at Jerusalem's Israeli-run municipality dismissed the Kach announcement as "hog wash" but said that they will monitor the situation closely in case they do launch patrols. Amir Hashin, advisor for Arab affairs at the municipality, told *Al Fajr* that he was not aware of the widely-publicised move but that he would do his best to "push police authorities to take measures against illegal actions by groups such as Kach." He said the official policy of the municipality is "never to allow individuals or groups, Jewish or Arab, to take the law into their own hands."

East Jerusalem residents considered the move a continuation of Kach's policy of incitement and racism. Fayeq Barakat, head of Jerusalem's Chamber of Commerce, told *Al Fajr* that "if Kach members carry out their plans, they and Israeli authorities will be responsible for the outcome." He said Old City residents are entitled to act in self-defence if they are threatened by Kahane's gang.

Barakat warned that violent clashes would take place between Old City residents and Kahane's group if the Israelis don't stop Kach from implementing its plan.

IN THIS ISSUE

Commando Battle at Sea p.2
Land Confiscated from University p.3
Palestinian Workers Support Hospice p.4
US-Israeli Relationship p.7
US Public at Odds with Government on Middle East ..... pp.8&9
Life Under Curfew p.10
Palestine Spring Exhibition p.11
Israeli Curricula Submerges Palestinian Nationalism p.16

Commando Sea Raid Thwarted Near Tel Aviv

On the eve of Israel's Independence Day, 28 Palestinian commandos attempted to land near Tel Aviv April 21 but were intercepted by Israeli gunboats. Eight of the commandos were captured but there were no reports on the fate of the remaining 20 Palestinians.

Palestinian and Israeli versions of the event differed widely. PLO officials claim that the commandos landed on the Israeli coast and fought fiercely with Israeli land forces. The Israelis claim that the Palestinians never made it to shore and that their main ship and three tiny boats were sunk over 100 kilometres from the coast.

Two of the captured Palestinians, Ahmad Shehadeh Odeh and Issa Othman, spoke about the operation to an Israeli journalist after their capture. Ahmad Odeh, 24, a Ramallah resident who left for Amman in 1980, said he trained for the operation in Algiers where he was shown videos of Tel Aviv and the shores of Bat Yam. According to Shehadeh, the commandos planned to hijack a bus to reach the Israeli defence ministry in Tel Aviv, where they intended to demand the release of 150 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails.

Issa Othman, 30, whose family fled from Jaffa to Amman in 1948 where he was born, said he joined Fatah and trained in Algiers during the past year. Othman said he received last-minute instructions from Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), the PLO's deputy military commander and Fatah central committee member. Abu Jihad said from Amman April 22 that the operation "was part of our policy of armed struggle."

The 20 commandos and eight seamen left Algiers April 20 and stopped in Port Said and Cyprus before travelling to the Israeli coast. The ship anchored some 170 kilometres from the Israeli coast and the group split into three teams, each in a small rubber boat. One boat was assigned to coordinate activities and the other two were supposed to carry out separate operations.

After their capture, a Fatah spokesperson told wire services that commandos belonging to the Ain al-Hilweh martyrs group had boarded a ship named *Tripoli's Steadfastness*. "The spokesperson said that the Israeli navy spotted one of the three rubber boats which contained the unit named "Martyr Isma'il Darwish." According to the spokesperson, the Israelis and Palestinians then engaged in a fierce battle using automatic weapons and anti-tank rockets. The battle ended with the sinking of the boat together with its passengers, the statement added. The two other boats, the "Martyr Sa'ed Sayel" unit and the "Martyr Fahd Qawasmeh" unit succeeded in reaching the shores of Tel Aviv, where they fought with the Israelis until dawn, the spokesperson said. He added that the main ship was chased by Israeli boats to the southern coast during a five-hour battle. Palestinian sources did not specify the outcome of the battle.

Israeli navy commander Major General Abraham Ben Shoshana told journalists April 22 that Israeli boats had spotted the 60-metre Palestinian ship and, after querying the ship about its mission and receiving no reply, fired at it. The Israeli official said that the boat then opened fire with rocket-propelled grenades and light arms. The Israeli boat is said to have responded with 20 mm and 76 mm cannons, which sank the ship and all those on board. The Israelis say that there were three rubber boats on board in addition to a fiberglass vessel.

Israelis Evacuate Eastern Lebanon

Israeli occupation troops pulled out of eastern Lebanon April 24 in compliance with the second phase of Israeli withdrawal and deployed on new lines 6-15 kilometres from the international border. The occupation forces continued to face heavy resistance from the Lebanese National Resistance Front and its allies in the Palestinian forces. One Israeli soldier died of wounds sustained during a previous attack, and three others were wounded in a series of attacks against Israeli forces.

The Israeli withdrawal from eastern Lebanon, according to military sources, was completed within four-and-a-half hours. The areas evacuated included the peak of Mount Baruk, the entire Beqa' Valley, and the Lake Qar'oun region, totalling nearly eight percent of Lebanon. The Israelis still control about 11 percent of the country, most of which they plan to turn into a security zone controlled by the South Lebanon Army (SLA). Israeli troops, according to the defence ministry plan, would continue to back the SLA, led by Antoine Lahad.

As Israeli tanks rolled out of eastern Lebanon, more than six attacks were reported against the occupation troops and their surrogate SLA forces. According to a report by the *Agence France Presse* (AFP), the attacks occurred in the Tyre area where Israeli troops patrol the region together with the SLA. In one attack, a RPG shell was fired at an Israeli army patrol in Tyre. The army said there were no casualties. AFP said another attack occurred against an SLA unit south of Tyre. The report said that the attack was aimed at a building housing units of the Israeli-backed National Guards.

Earlier in the week, two Israeli soldiers were wounded April 22 when a roadside bomb exploded near the village of Rashaya, in the eastern sector. The two soldiers were transferred by helicopter to Rambam Hospital in Haifa. A third soldier was wounded April 22, also in a roadside bomb explosion near the village of Jwaya.

In another attack, two commandos were killed April 23 during a clash with an Israeli army unit on Mount Baruk. An Israeli military report said that the commandos armed with automatic rifles infiltrated from an area held by Syria and clashed with the Israeli force. The Israeli source said there were no Israeli casualties.

Israel Radio reported April 24 that an Israeli soldier died in hospital from wounds sustained two weeks ago in an explosion on the Qasimiyeh bridge.

Armenians Remember 1915 Massacre by Turks

On April 24 the Armenian community in Jerusalem commemorated the 70th anniversary of the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of Ottoman Turks.

Members of the Armenian community shut down their businesses and closed schools for the day, and began gathering from the early morning hours at the Armenian Patriarchate in the Old City of Jerusalem where a memorial mass was held. The Assyrian, Abyssinian, and Greek Orthodox patriarchs, as well as representatives of other Christian communities, participated in the service. The French, Italian, and Greek consuls were also present.

Immediately following the mass at 11:00 am, a procession to the memorial site built in the Armenian cemetery on Mount Zion took place. The procession in memory of the massacred civilians was led by the Armenian Patriarch, archbishops, and several hundred members of the Armenian community and supporters.

Armenian youths carried placards condemning the genocide and calling for justice for the Armenian community scattered throughout the world. Signs read: "Turkey guilty of Armenian genocide of 1915," "I am a survivor of 70 years of Armenian exile," and "Stop torture in Turkish prisons." Flags and pictures of murdered Armenians were carried, along with a picture of a local Armenian priest imprisoned in Turkey several years ago on charges of being a member of the Secret Armenian Liberation Army. The priest, who went to Turkey to visit family, is still in prison and reportedly in poor health.

At the memorial site, an Armenian speaker recalled the genocide and promised that the Armenian people will not forget their massacred relatives. He said that one day they would see justice done.

The procession continued down Mount Zion into Jaffa Gate and back to the Armenian Patriarchate where bitter black coffee was served to the community.

One of the few survivors of the massacres told *Al Fajr* of his experiences during the bloodbath 70 years ago. He said Turkish forces took Armenians from their homes, rounded them up into the streets, and expelled them from their cities. Many Armenians, he said, were forced to walk long distances. The exhausting walk resulted in many of the very young and the elderly falling dead along the roadside. He himself was separated from his parents and taken to an orphanage. Twenty years later, he was reunited with his mother in Aleppo, Syria, where many Armenians sought refuge. He never saw his father again and still knows nothing about his parent's fate.

Local controversy was created about this year's annual commemoration when deposed Armenian Archbishop Shahe Ajamian decided on his own to include a visit to the Israeli holocaust memorial in the ceremonies. Ajamian also told an audience attending a conference he called on the Armenian genocide April 22 at Hebrew University that Israel stands as a symbol of hope for the Armenians who will one day also return to their homeland, according to a report in *The Jerusalem Post* April 23. Ajamian also blamed "Muslim extremism" for Turkey's denial of the genocide.

Ajamian's statements were criticised by several prominent Armenians. An official at the Armenian Patriarchate told *Al Fajr* that Ajamian, who was expelled from the brotherhood of St James three years ago, "does not represent anybody here." He said, "We do not pay attention to what Ajamian says." *Al Fajr* Arabic daily also published April 24 a statement by members of the Armenian community denouncing Ajamian's statements at Hebrew University as "full of errors." It read: "The archbishop does not represent the community and only represents himself." It added: "The Armenian people who have been expelled from their motherland cannot forget the hospitality of the Arab people" among whom the Armenians took refuge from the Turks.

ON SYRIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Golanis Harassed

Israeli police and border guard units arrested two Syrian residents of the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights April 20 two days after demonstrations marking the 39th anniversary of Syria's independence. Earlier in the week, at least five Golan residents were detained in preemptive arrests in anticipation of anti-occupation protest activities on the anniversary. The five were charged with inciting residents to demonstrate and celebrate the Syrian national day.

Thousands of Golanis flocked to Majdal Shams, the largest Golan village, where they held a rally and waved Syrian flags at the fence which separates the Israeli-occupied Heights from the rest of Syria. They were joined by relatives and friends celebrating on the other side of the fence, also waving Syrian flags. Speeches marking the occasion were made by Syrians on both sides of the fence.

Earlier in the week, Israeli authorities summoned Sheikh Ahmad Ali Qadamani, Sheikh Isma'il Kanj Abu Saleh, Sheikh Nu'man Ali Abu Jabal, Hammoud Mar'i, Yousef Salman Abu Saleh, Hussein Mahmoud Qadamani, Ghassan Awaidat, and Afif Mahmoud, and threatened them that if they participated in demonstrations marking Syria's national day they would be punished.

Two weeks earlier, Israeli troops arrested brothers Hussein and Ahmad Yousef Abu Salah. Yousef was released recently, while Ahmad is still in detention, as *Al Tali'a* Arabic daily reported April 18. The paper also said that Israeli troops arrested Samih Aiyub from Majdal Shams after he returned from visiting his brother in Greece. He was released after 10 days.

Golan residents complained that Israeli authorities have been intensifying harassment measures against young boys and girls, and threatening them not to take part in national Syrian celebrations. The reports said that at least two Syrian schoolgirls in the Golan were arrested recently and accused of inciting pupils to demonstrate on the occasion of Syria's independence. (Translation: Al Sha'ab, April 22; Al Tali'a, April 18, 1985).

Najah University Land Grabbed by Military

Israeli military authorities confiscated a five-and-a-half dunum plot belonging to Najah National University in Nablus April 22 for stated military purposes. The confiscation is seen by university officials as a step toward expansion of the adjoining Jnaid prison, and seriously jeopardises university expansion plans.

The Najah University Board of Trustees received a letter April 22 signed by the Israeli Custodian of Absentee Property at the West Bank military governorate, informing them of the seizure. The plot is part of a 120-dunum land strip belonging to the university in the village of Beit Wazan, nearly three kilometres from campus. The letter, which did not specify what military-related purpose the land was to be used for, invited university officials to collect compensation from the military governorate. The Board of Trustees decided against seeking compensation, however, and decided to challenge the confiscation order in court. Sa'eb Erakat, public relations director at the university, told *Al Fajr* they filed a petition against the order in the Israeli High Court April 23.

In a statement issued by the public relations office April 23 the university administration condemned the confiscation order as an attempt to expand the neighbouring Jnaid prison at the expense of the university. "They see a greater role for young Palestinians under occupation as future security prisoners rather than future educated persons," the statement read.

Erakat told *Al Fajr* that the university purchased the land plot in 1978 for the purpose of expanding the university. He explained that the university has complete blueprints for two new colleges, one for engineering and one for science. The authorities have been refusing to issue construction permits for the building but have given no reasons. Erakat said he suspects that the Israeli refusal to issue permits came from the authorities' intention to confiscate the land plot. Erakat said he did not dismiss the possibility that the land confiscation might be used as a first step in the eventual seizure of the entire 120 dunums.

Najah University, the largest higher education institution in the occupied territories, has had its share of harassment from the Israelis in the past. The university was ordered to halt construction on the new library building March 15, 1983 without reason. The university has also been closed by the military a number of times for long periods, the most recent being in the fall of 1984 when it was closed for four months.

Shaka'a and Hamdallah at the centre of a crowd attending Prisoner's Day rally./RI photo

Nationalist Mayors Attend Prisoners Day Rally

A popular rally on the occasion of Prisoner's Day was held April 19 at the Federation of Professional Trade Unions headquarters in Beit Hanina, Jerusalem. Nationalist Mayors Bassam Shaka'a of Nablus and Wahid Hamdallah of Anabta, who have both spent recent years under town and house arrest, attended the day's events.

The rally, sponsored by the Prisoner's Defence Committee of the Women's Work Committees Federation, opened with a minute of silence in memory of Palestinian martyrs. Shaka'a, the elected and deposed mayor of Nablus, called for "effective solidarity with prisoners" and welcomed the prisoners' struggle inside Israeli prisons. Hamdallah, the elected and deposed mayor of Anabta, spoke on behalf of the Committee to Honour Prisoners and called for a united stand "in order to defeat all the conspiracies against our people."

Other speakers included advocate Jawad Boulos, a representative of *Nadi Muwazafin* (the Employees' Club) and a speaker on behalf of the sponsor committee.

The Committee to Defend Prisoners also issued a newsletter for Prisoner's Day April 17 entitled "Prisoners for Freedom." The six-page newsletter dealt with a number of issues, including the deteriorating situation in a number of Israeli prisons. The newsletter called for a strengthening of the role of the various committees to defend prisoners.

The publication also contained new statistical information about landmark protest actions by Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails during the past 20 years. A list of 59 Palestinian prisoners who died either in Israeli jails or shortly after being released was printed with the birth dates, prisons held in, and date of death.

The newsletter's lead story called for PLO unity and for the cancellation of the February 11 agreement between the PLO and Jordan.

Students Strike at Modern Community College

More than 1000 students, teachers, and representatives of national institutions took part in a popular conference at the Modern Community College (MCC) in Beitunia April 23 in solidarity with student demands for improved general conditions. MCC students have been on strike since April 10.

The students' demands, submitted last October 1984 and presented again April 9, included extending the fourth semester to July 27 in order to allow students to finish their texts, reviving the committee which had been assigned to review the cases of teachers fired from the college, allowing the Higher Education Council to evaluate the college's academic performance, and allowing students who were unable to register for the present semester to do so. Students had presented the administration with an additional list of demands which included providing the college with necessary supplies for the cafeteria, the various departments, and voluntary work activities.

Representatives from all four student blocs spoke in support of the student council demands.

The controversy at the junior college escalated April 10 when students struck to register their disappointment with the administration's lack of action in introducing promised reforms. According to a statement published in the local press April 23, the student council explained that they had decided to have a sit-in strike after the administration turned down their demands, and then froze the student council and closed the college until further notice. The statement also noted students' anger at a statement by the college administration describing members of the student council as "thugs." The council pledged to continue the strike until the administration retracts its decisions and yields to their demands.

The day after the mass conference, the college administration issued a reply statement via *Al Quds* Arabic daily in which they affirmed their refusal of student demands and warned that students who missed two classes of a course would lose the right to take the government-sponsored board test scheduled for August 4. The college administration also accused students of vandalising the college building during the sit-in strike. Students at the college ignored the statement and vowed to continue the strike until their demands are met. A number of attempts to mediate between the students and administration have so far not been successful.

Um Khalil Appeals For Release of Son from Jordan Prison

Samiha Khalil, director of *In'ash al-Usra* (the Family Rehabilitation Society) in al-Bireh, made an appeal in the Palestinian press April 22 for the release of her son from prison in Jordan. Samih Salameh Khalil, 35, a central committee member in the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), was arrested in Amman April 10 on unknown charges.

In a statement issued April 11 in Damascus the DFLP Central Information Office reported that Jordanian intelligence agents had abducted Samih while he was walking on an Amman street. The statement said that intelligence men later raided his home.

Samiha Khalil, popularly known as Um Khalil, called for her son's immediate release in an appeal published locally April 22. She told *Al Fajr* that she was concerned that her son's health might deteriorate; he suffers from high blood pressure and a spinal disorder and needs constant medical attention.

Um Khalil told *Al Fajr* that she applied to the Israeli authorities for an exit permit to travel to Jordan to visit her son but Israeli authorities have not yet replied to her request. She has been barred from travel outside the West Bank for the past three years. She said the Israeli authorities cite "security" reasons behind the barring, but have never explained the nature of their security considerations. The DFLP statement charged that Khalil's abduction reveals the Jordanian authorities' intentions to suppress and terrorise those who oppose the Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11 and to impose it on the Palestinian people.

The DFLP warned the Jordanian authorities against continuing to detain Khalil and other nationalist and progressive elements. They called on the PLO, Arab, and international forces to intervene immediately for his release.

Three of Samiha Khalil's four sons, who are all residing in Jordan, have been detained recently and subjected to other forms of harassment by the Jordanian authorities. Samir, a pediatrician, was held for one year and seven months in detention on unspecified political charges after he returned from the 16th PNC in Algiers. Saji, a member of the central committee of the DFLP, had his passport confiscated by Jordanian authorities.

Israeli occupation authorities deported both Saji and Samih Salameh from the West Bank in 1973 after arresting them on charges of political activity. Saji spent seven years in Israeli prisons and Samih was held for one month, prior to deportation.

Israelis Arrest 35 Kids

Israeli military authorities arrested 35 young boys, all under 15 years of age, from the village of Ain Arik west of Ramallah April 19 on charges of throwing stones at Israelis and their cars two months ago. The detainees included a five-year-old child named Mohammed Ali Dhyab.

Sources in the village of 2000 reported that an Israeli army unit rounded up the youths according to a list of names which they had with them. Village sources said that the youths were led to the Ramallah military compound, where older children were beaten up by soldiers and questioned on the stone-throwing incident. Harb Hanna Ibrahim and Ramzi Jamal Atallah, both 10-years-old, were the most severely beaten by soldiers, according to village residents. All of the children were made to pull weeds around the military headquarters and then released by evening.

Village residents said that the Israeli authorities had accused the young boys of hurling stones at an Israeli film-making crew last February while it was trying to film scenes in the village for a movie. The Israeli film crew left after their camera was damaged by a flying stone.

High school students, labourers, doctors, and local dignitaries attended a popular rally in support of Hospice Hospital at Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre Monday, April 22./AO photo

Jerusalem Rallies to Hospice Cause

In their efforts to keep the only hospital in Jerusalem's Old City open, Jerusalem residents, representatives of unions and charitable societies, attended a rally April 22 called by the Hospice Friends Committee. The same day, Israeli Health Minister Mordechai Gur reiterated his decision to close the Hospice Hospital.

The popular rally in Jerusalem's Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre stated Palestinian concerns over the declared Israeli decision to close the Hospice. Speakers denounced the decision and urged that protest activities against the closure be escalated.

Fayeq Barakat, head of the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce, told the gathering that Jerusalem Arabs have been asking for improvements in the hospital since the early 1970's. Barakat explained that in 1973 the Chamber of Commerce formally asked to build a new hospital, but the request was turned down.

Hafez Sultan, a resident of the Old City of Jerusalem, explained the closure decison as part of a campaign against Arab institutions. He encouraged the audience to escalate their protest in order to keep the Hospice open.

A blind woman whose son is imprisoned at Asqalan gave a moving statement in which she conveyed the solidarity of Palestinian prisoners with efforts to keep the hospital open. She stressed the importance of the hospital to the Old City's poor residents. Other speakers representing the Worker's Unity Bloc, Youth Movement Workers, and the General Union of Workers echoed similar sentiments.

In the Israeli Knesset, the case of the Hospice was discussed April 22 in the Social Welfare Committee. Gur told the committee that the hospital will be replaced by a clinic. The committee asked Gur to submit his proposal in writing before it takes a final decision on the matter.

Knesset Member Mohammed Watad called on Gur to give the hospital administration and other charitable societies another chance to raise the health standards of the hospital. The Israelis claim that they are closing the hospital because of its low medical standards. Hospital officials put the blame on the Israeli health ministry, which has progressively reduced the hospital's budget and refused to invest in developing or improving the facility.

Gush Emunim March Means Curfew for 20 Villages

Israeli authorities clamped a curfew on 20 Palestinian villages in the West Bank April 25 as hundreds of Gush Emunim settlers staged a march on Israeli Independence Day from Salfit to Qalqilya. The settlers marched in several locations in the Nablus area.

Israel Radio reported that the Israeli Peace Now movement staged a counter demonstration in the same area.

The Israeli army imposed the curfew on the villages and set up roadblocks at their entrances to bar residents from entering or leaving. Authorities also forbade motor traffic on Highway 55 between Nablus and Qalqilya from 9:00 am till 1:00 pm. A road connecting the village of Jinsafout and the settlement Karnei Shomron was closed to traffic from 3:00 to 5:00 pm.

The curfewed villages included, among others, Azzoun, Kufr Kadum, Jinsafout, and Masha, west of Qalqilya.

Member of Knesset Tawfiq Toubi sent a telegramme to Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin last week protesting the fact that Rabin gave permission to the settlers to stage their provocative march in Arab areas. He also protested the imposition of curfew on 20 Arab villages.

Taxi Driver

continued from page 1

say "death to the terrorists."

Hundreds of Shu'fat and Jerusalem residents participated in Tutunji's funeral April 24. It proceeded from Tutunji's home in Shu'fat to the Dome of the Rock in the Old City for prayers. Tutunji was buried in the Bab Asbat cemetery just outside the eastern wall of the Old City.

East Jerusalem shops were shut all day April 25 in response to a strike call by the Union of Transport Workers and Mechanics to protest Tutunji's murder. The union, which had organised Tutunji's funeral the previous day, called on all taxi drivers to strike, and shopowners joined in to show solidarity.

Owners of taxi companies in East Jerusalem have already cautioned their drivers not to pick up suspicious customers for fear of more attacks on drivers. An employee of the Middle East Taxi company told *Al Fajr* that the company's policy has always been not to pick up armed Israelis and that it is now considering refraining from picking up any Israeli passengers unless they are known to the driver, he said. Israeli taxi drivers were reported to be taking similar measures with Arab commuters.

Light Sentences for 3 Underground Members

Dan [illegible]

Three members of the Jewish terror underground plea-bargained their way to reduced sentences of between 25-36 months in prison. The sentences were passed in the Jerusalem district court April 18 after the defendants concluded a deal with the prosecutor. [Current sentence in the occupied territories for throwing a Molotov cocktail is 5-8 years.]

Dan Be'eri was sentenced to three years in prison and two years suspended for conspiring to blow up the Dome of the Rock and illegal possession of arms. Uri Meir, found guilty of membership in a terrorist organisation, illegal possession of arms, and planning a number of criminal acts, was sentenced to 30 months in prison and 18 months suspended. The third defendant, Yossi Edri, was sentenced to 25 months in prison and 15 months suspended for stealing arms from the Israeli army and complicity in a number of illegal actions. The 10 months they have already spent in prison will count as part of their terms.

Their relatively light sentences came as a result of a deal struck with the prosecutor. In exchange for admitting to a number of charges, the state dropped some of the more serious charges.

Meanwhile, the trial of the other 18 members of the underground is still going on. (Translation: Hadashot, April 19, 1985)

Lawyer Demands Military Appeals Court

The Israeli High Court ordered the ministry of defence April 18 to explain their reasons for not establishing a military appeals court in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza. This decision followed a petition to the court by Jerusalem advocate Darwish Nasser on behalf of two Hebron residents, Jamal and Isma'il Rajoub, who were given harsh sentences for membership in an illegal organisation and possession of arms earlier this year.

The Israeli defence ministry was given 40 days to reply to the High Court. Another hearing will then be held in which the court will decide whether to establish an appeals court. Israel established a military appeals court inside the "green line" in 1963, but did not do so in the occupied territories supposedly for lack of funds.

Advocate Nasser argued that the impossibility of appeal contradicts internationally recognised laws and treaties. He said that Israeli military courts in the West Bank and Gaza should have a watchdog over them to monitor the legality of their judgements. The military courts are run by only two military officers and one judge appointed by the military government. "An appeals court could offer Palestinians who are sentenced a chance to appeal their sentence and reduce it, a chance that is one of the basic principles of natural justice," Nasser said.

Several Palestinian lawyers working with the military appeals court inside Israel oppose the establishment of a similar system in the occupied territories. They argue an appeals court would not guarantee more justice in military legal procedures and could instead prove to be a disadvantage to Palestinians. Ali Guzlan, a Jerusalem advocate and spokesperson for the Arab Lawyers Committee, told *Al Fajr* that a military appeals court in the West Bank and Gaza could prove to be as useless as the one inside the "green line," which, he says, "rejects appeals or upholds sentences over 95 percent of the time." Guzlan said that the establishment of an appeals court would set a precedent for maximum sentences given in the occupied territories. Whereas now, he said, sentences given for stone-throwing, for example, vary widely according to the government's policy in the West Bank and Gaza at that time. "We, as a lawyer's committee, reject the whole concept of an appeals court in the occupied territories," he concluded.

Another Jerusalem advocate, Jonathan Kuttab, argued that the Israeli government would merely use the appeals court as propaganda to "prove" that it has a just legal system in the occupied territories, when it does not. He expects the Israeli defence ministry to respond favourably to the High Court order "because it will appear, internationally, that they exercise justice when they really do as they please, irregardless of laws," he said.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead. N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.
POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

Security and Future

A Palestinian taxi driver from Jerusalem was found murdered in the early morning hours of April 23 on the road leading to Ma'ale Adumim settlement east of Jerusalem. The driver, 32-year-old Khamis Tutunji, was shot three times in the head and left in his car for some time before police were notified of the shooting incident and began their investigation. According to the police report, the bullets discovered at the scene were Israeli army issue for a Galili assault rifle. Palestinian drivers believe the murder could only have been hateful revenge by Israeli fanatics. Three days earlier an Israeli taxi driver was discovered shot dead in east Jerusalem and police investigation led to the discovery of the alleged attackers who admitted their intention to rob the driver and in the process killed him.

Under occupation, the Palestinian people are banned from the means to defend themselves. Except for the few collaborators who are permitted by the Israeli authorities to carry arms, Palestinians are subject to trial and imprisonment if and when weapons are discovered in their possession. If those weapons are used in criminal activity, the owner is liable to a less severe sentence than if they are used for defence, and most certainly when used to defend the people's rights.

The occupier insists that Palestinians are allegedly protected and defended by the Israeli police. At the same time, Israeli soldiers and civilians, the infrastructure of the occupying force, are armed and have the right, by law, to use their weapons unrestrictedly. And regardless of the particular organisation or group they are part of – army, police, settler gangs or civil guards – Israelis have used arms against Palestinians under a cloud of various pretexts.

This latest murder of an innocent Palestinian is a demonstration of the extent of anti-Arab racism not only among Israeli right-wing fanatics but also in the society which supports them. Palestinians under occupation feel vulnerable; lately, the form and extent of violence against them seems to have been calculated to maximise a campaign of terror.

We have no confidence that Israelis can ever guarantee the security of Palestinians; the Israeli-Zionist objective is quite the opposite. And that is why Palestinians need the means to control their own security, and with it, their future.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US$50.00

NAME. . . . . .

ADDRESS. . . . . .

ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT . . . . . .

DATE. . . . . .

SIGNED . . . . . .

Mail to:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
PO Box 19315
East Jerusalem
Via Israel

In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington DC, 20006 USA

Israel's Lebanon Quagmire

by Bishara Bahbah

"Lebanon," an Israeli journalist recently wrote, "is a country that slips the rug out from under the feet of its conquerers, leaving them flat on their faces atop a heap of garbage." Most political observers of the Middle East concur with that assessment and feel that the Lebanese quagmire has proven to be a little too much for even the mighty Israelis. It took Israel some 30 months to admit its inability to shape the course of events in that country as it had intended them to be. Israel is leaving Lebanon having attained very limited objectives and with virtually no choice but to return, ironically, to a more unstable set-up than existed prior to its June 1982 invasion.

Israel's proclaimed aim for its invasion of Lebanon was to guarantee the security of its northern border by destroying the Palestinian military bases in southern Lebanon. However, it was clear from the outset that besides this publicly proclaimed goal, Israel intended as well to: a) help create a strong and friendly Lebanese central government with whom a peace treaty could be signed; b) push the Syrian forces out of Lebanon; c) destroy the PLO's entire military infrastructure in that country; d) divert the worldwide pressure that was building on Israel to relinquish its control of the occupied territory. Given these objectives, what have been the consequences of Israel's Lebanon invasion and how have they affected its decision to withdraw?

Israel's Lebanon venture has proven to be a major disaster. Its record of military victories has been marred by a costly and frustrating expedition that failed in its objective, while the Israelis have suffered a painful blow to their excessive confidence in military mind. Israel's loss of at least 645 soldiers is extremely high when compared to the approximately 700 soldiers that the Israelis lost during the 1967 war facing a combination of major Arab armies. The number of wounded exceeds 5000 and is on the increase as the Israelis withdraw. Israel's shattered economy (sustained only by another increasing transfusion of American aid), which is suffering from rampant inflation with an annual average of 450 percent, has had to shoulder the additional cost of maintaining an army of occupation.

More importantly, the Lebanon war has sharply divided the Israeli society. It is a war that many Israelis feel was unnecessarily launched and was not essential for Israel's survival and security in ways previous wars with the Arabs were. In fact, many more Israelis have refused to serve in the army and were subsequently jailed since the Lebanese invasion than during Israel's entire history. Those who have served or are servng in Lebanon are demoralised and want to go home. These soldiers who are used to a front, an army, and a well-defined enemy are engaged in a war where there are no enemy positions, outposts, or bunkers. "The enemy," writes Eitan Haber, a correspondent for the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharanot*, "can fire from the middle of the field, the fourth floor of the building, the roof of a villa, or a passing car."

Rather than improving security, Israel's Lebanon venture brought it to the brink of all-out war with Syria. Although the confrontation cost the Syrians dearly, particularly in the air force, the Soviet Union quickly replaced these losses and increased its supplies of arms to Syria, qualitatively and quantitatively, much to Israel's detriment. In fact, according to Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's defence minister, it would have taken the Syrians an additional five to ten years to acquire this equipment from the Soviet Union.

This venture threw as well the US into a battlefield that was not its own and that the US had to pay for with the lives of 260 Marines and other American personnel. The US briefly clashed with Syria and its supporters in a standoff that could have led to a violent confrontation between the two countries. Naturally the US intervention was viewed with much ill will among the Arabs, who viewed the US as siding with Israel.

Israel is leaving Lebanon having achieved very little. Its hopes of seeing a strong, central, and friendly Lebanese government with whom it could sign a peace treaty of its choice have been dashed. The Lebanese government is not only unfriendly to Israel, it is very much under Syrian influence. The Syrian army, the one that Israel was hoping to push out of Lebanon, is more entrenched in that country than ever before.

Although Israel succeeded in uprooting the PLO from south Lebanon and the Beirut area, it also managed to weaken considerably the organisation's military infrastructure in Lebanon – the only country contiguous to the borders of Israel-Palestine that allowed it to operate against Israel from its territories or was too weak to prevent it. It was important for Israel to deprive the PLO of its military clout, not so much because of the greatness of its military threat against Israel but rather to render the PLO a harmless adversary, both militarily and politically. Notwithstanding, the PLO's presence in Lebanon has not been eliminated. Once Israel withdraws it will have a tougher time controlling Palestinian guerrilla attacks, particularly since many of Arafat's men are no longer there. Many of the Palestinian fighters who are now in Lebanon are either those who revolted against Arafat or those who are on the extreme left of the political spectrum. These still have bases in Lebanon under Syria's umbrella. Therefore, by replacing the "moderate" Palestinians with the "radical" ones who are strongly committed to armed struggle against Israel, the latter will unquestionably have a much tougher time guaranteeing the security of its northern border.

On another front, the Israelis have managed not only to divert attention from the occupied territories but to consolidate their control over them. More and more land is being confiscated on an almost daily basis. Many settlements are either being erected or have been authorised. And even highways are being built to connect the various Jewish settlements and to facilitate access to them away from areas populated by Palestinians. Since the invasion, world attention has shifted from what to do with the occupied territories to Lebanon. In fact, even the Israelis themselves are seeing less urgency in dealing with the issue of the occupied territories. For the first time in Israeli history, the present government has announced that the main objective is not the quest for peace in the Middle East but rather the resolution of Israel's economic problems as well as its involvement in Lebanon. However, when Israel ends its ill-advised military expedition in Lebanon, it will have to face willy-nilly the issue of the future of the occupied territories and the 1.3 million Palestinians under its control, because without addressing these issues there can be no peace on the Arab-Israeli front.

As to the security of its northern borders which depends on the stability of south Lebanon, Israel is counting on the South Lebanon

continued on page 13

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Aryeh Dayan wrote this article on the Israeli military's legal system in the West Bank for the Hebrew weekly *Koteret Rashit*. In it he shows how the interpretation of the term "Rule of law" all depends on the role of law.

West Bank Military Courts

No Neutrality, Independence, or Justice

Two Palestinian youths being detained in the round-up after the fatal shooting of a Jewish settler in al-Bireh March 31.

The Ramallah military court holds its sessions in a building located at the far end of the military administration compound. Anyone who wants to attend a trial must present his ID papers to the soldiers on guard at the entrance to the building. Relatives and friends of defendants are generally allowed in without a hassle.

There is a dark narrow corridor between the detention room and the two courtrooms. Its walls are covered with graffiti: almost every prisoner writes his name and the date on the wall. There are quite a few anti occupation inscriptions as well as two large inscriptions in Hebrew: "Death to the terrorists" and "Kahane is right."

There are no benches or chairs in the detention room and prisoners awaiting trial either stand on their feet or sit on the floor. They spend hours in the detention room, waiting for their case to come up. Their relatives also have to wait on their feet: there are no benches in the corridor or the courtyard — the two places allotted to them — and their only protection from rain and sun is the shacks built for the cars of the military judges and prosecutors.

The atmosphere in the courtrooms is depressing and oppressive. The defendants' relatives — jam-packed on plain wooden benches — are usually quiet and grave. There are no courtroom disorders, no protests, no cries of anguish. When the trial comes to an end, defendants are allowed to spend a few minutes conversing with their relatives. Then their relatives are asked to leave and the prisoner is led back to the detention room, where he remains until the court adjourns for the day. Only then does he return to prison together with the other convicts. Everyone — policemen, soldiers, prisoners, and relatives — behaves in a restrained manner. It's almost as if they know their parts by heart.

The suspects are young. Many of them were born after the 1967 war. Growing up under occupation, they never had the opportunity to experience any other type of rule. The most common charge is disturbing the peace — it covers stone-throwing, participating in demonstrations, and setting up roadblocks. Sometimes 14- and 15-year-old adolescent boys are brought to court for offences of this type. Since the government policy became more stringent (two years ago), the courts have been sentencing 15- and 16-year-olds to between one-and-a-half to two months in prison; 17- and 18-year-olds receive up to half a year for the same offence; and adults are usually sentenced to longer terms.

No Independence

There isn't any kind of separation of powers on the West Bank or in the Gaza Strip. The executive authority — ie, the military administration and the civil administration — has both legislative and judicial authority. The military courts are purely military institutions and the soldiers and officers who work there, whether as judges, prosecutors, or clerks, are all subordinated to the regional army commander. Colonel Avi Haber, the president of the West Bank military court, supervises the operation of all military courts in the occupied territories. By rank, he is under the authority of the regional commander. His neutrality and independence of judgement are ostensibly vouchsafed by an order professionally subordinating him to the chief army prosecutor. He is thus not obligated to obey the military governor's orders when trying a case. In practice, his status is similar to that of the chief army prosecutor of the general command. But in regard to his independence, it is a far cry from that enjoyed by the president of the Supreme Court.

Military courts usually try cases with a single judge on the bench. In more serious cases, there are three judges: the president of the court must be a jurist, but the other two judges need only be army officers — and a legal background is not obligatory. A single presiding judge cannot sentence a convict to more than five years in prison.

Over half the cases in the occupied territories are heard by men who do their reserve army duty as judges. Their standards of legal expertise differ widely; in fact not all of them deal with criminal cases in their civilian capacities. Among them one can find government legal advisors, insurance lawyers, bank managers, and business lawyers. Many consider their reserve duty as judges a great honour, for it gives them both status and power... A military judge needs a great deal of courage to legally oppose the policy of the military administration. They are well acquainted with the punishment policy of the heads of the military network.

The president of the military courts keeps in close contact with the standing military judges, informing them about what is going on. Both judges and prosecutors operate in the framework of the army. They meet the top military policy-makers everyday... and are more than familiar with their policies.

Every few months reservist judges are invited to study sessions held by the chief military prosecutor. They hear a lecture about a purely legal issue and are briefed about the military and political situation in the occupied territories. The army coordinator of operations in the occupied territories regularly appears at these meetings, as do the military governors and various senior army officers from the occupied territories. A reservist judge who hears that everything possible must be done to halt the phenomenon of stone throwing will not have much trouble understanding the hint.

One reservist judge, who requested that his name not be published, severely criticised the system. "There is something defective about the military courts at a very basic level," he told me. "The neutrality and independence of judgement in the system is not being protected (against outside interference). When a judge is appointed and dismissed solely on the authority of the military echelon, the independence of the system cannot be guaranteed. A judge must know that he cannot be fired."

Military Justice — Conviction by Confession

Albert Einstein once said that "military justice is as detrimental to justice as military music is to music." This is true of military courts the world over. It is extremely appropriate in regard to the military courts in the occupied territories.

The first difference between civil justice and its military equivalent becomes apparent immediately upon arrest. In Israel, the police must bring a detainee before a judge within 48 hours; on the West Bank, a detainee can be held for up to 18 days without appearing before a judge. In Israel, the prosecutor cannot request an extension of detention beyond a 30-day maximum without the special authorisation of the government's legal advisor; on the West Bank, a judge can order a man detained for 60 days without any special authorisation. Another difference is that in Israel, a suspect is held until his trial only if accused of a major felony; on the West Bank, almost every detainee is automatically held until his trial. There are many cases in which detainees complete most of their prison sentence before their trials are concluded.

The overwhelming majority of people brought to court on the West Bank are convicted on the basis of confessions given during their interrogation. In a civil court, a defence lawyer would be quick to challenge the admissability of a confession as evidence and a special hearing would then have to be held to rule on the matter. But on the West Bank, such an objection would not stand much of a chance. Attorney Boulos told me that in the two years he has been practising law on the West Bank, he has participated in dozens of hearings of this type, but he has only won one.

Defendants who do not confess are convicted on the basis of other prisoners' statements. Mousa al-Rimawi a young man from Ramallah who went to university in Bulgaria, was charged with recruiting Palestinian students in Bulgaria for Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front (DFLP) at the beginning of the Lebanese war. The prosecutor claimed that in June 1982, al-Rimawi flew from Sofia to Damascus at the head of a group of about 10 volunteers. From Damascus they allegedly went to Ma'alulah — the DFLP'S training base. A group of about 150 Fatah volunteers were aboard the same flight and one of them (who is now serving a sentence in an Israeli prison) told his interrogators that al-Rimawi was on the plane. Al-Rimawi claims that in June 1982 he was honeymooning in a Bulgarian resort town. During his testimony in the Ramallah court, the Fatah man withdrew his statement, but the judge preferred his initial testimony and sentenced al-Rimawi to three years in prison. (The Fatah man had been sentenced prior to the trial to one year in prison).

No Place to Appeal

Al-Rimawi's sentence was stiffer than punishments meted out in the past for similar offences. Since there is no way to appeal a sentence in the occupied territories, he has no choice but to serve out his entire term. Moshe Drori, a jurist who once served as the West Bank legal advisor, says that the inability to appeal a sentence is the single serious defect in the operation of the military courts in the occupied territories. If there were an appeals court, says Drori, he would give the military court system a nine or ten point grade [out of ten].

There are some senior figures in the military prosecutor's office who are in favour of establishing an appeals court. The defence ministry has recently reviewed proposals for such a court and it was brought up in the prime minister's office at least once. Ten years ago, when Peres was the minister of defence, he reviewed such a proposal, but in the end rejected it on the grounds that the establishment of a court of appeal in the occupied territories could be internationally interpreted as a step toward annexation. Today, the annexationists are the very ones who are most vocal in their opposition to such a scheme. The settlers, with the backing of the military administration and the army coordinator of operations in the occupied territories, see such a move as serving the interests of the Arab population; furthermore, they believe it will play into the hands of the elements most hostile to the Israeli occupation.

The settlers would like the territories and the Jewish residents living there to be annexed to Israel, but would prefer to have the Arabs remain under occupation rule. (Translation: Koterit Rashit, April 3, 1985) ■

George Ball Blasts US-Israeli Relationship

by Zaha Bustami

Error and Betrayal in Lebanon: An Analysis of Israel's Invasion of Lebanon and the Implications for US-Israeli Relations.
by George W. Ball
Foreword by Merle Thorpe, Jr
Preface by Professor Stanley Hoffman
Foundation for Middle East Peace
Washington, DC, 1984

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982 and its aftermath have given rise to a number of studies by American authors critical of some aspects of the US-Israeli relationship. Thus George Ball's recent book *Error and Betrayal in Lebanon* joins a rapidly increasing list that includes Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* (1983) and Stephen Green, *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel* (1984), to name only two of the most prominent, recent works on the subject. *Error and Betrayal*, however, is much more limited in scope than the works dealing with the overall pattern of US-Israeli relations. As the book's subtitle indicates, the author limits his discussion to Israel's invasion of Lebanon and ensuing developments in the area, and only afterwards relates that subject to American policy *vis-a-vis* Israel. This approach added significance to the book, as the studies dealing with the 1982 war are still very limited in number. On the other hand, because sources for the study of that period — other than journalistic accounts — remain unavailable to scholars, the scope of the author's inquiry remains limited to available published information.

This shortcoming is of only marginal significance, however, and the author ties together the available information in a coherent and lucid account. The book's significance does not lie in the account it provides of the war or of US-Israeli relations during that period. The book derives its importance from the strong argument it offers against the present nature of the American-Israeli relationship. The book is simply a long polemic on the subject.

George Ball is not a newcomer to the subject of America's Middle East policy. He served as undersecretary of state during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations (1961-1966), when he distinguished himself by his early opposition to American involvement in Vietnam. Since then he has also shifted his attention to the US-Israeli relationship, questioning whether indiscriminate American acceptance of Israeli policy is compatible with US interests. His outspoken position against the overriding American identification with Israeli policies, enunciated in numerous articles and media appearances, has earned him the reputation of being one of the so-called Arabists of the American establishment. The general position of this group of analysts and policy-makers is that the close US association with Israel is influenced more by domestic considerations (the Jewish and Zionist lobbies) than by a rational assessment of American interests in the Middle East, and that this biased, irresponsible stance constantly places US interests in the area in jeopardy, particularly in the Arab world.

An Israeli soldier thoroughly frisks Lebanese soldiers.

George Ball, in line with other Arabists, has consistently called for a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict based, among other measures, on Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in 1967 in return for peace, and the realisation, in some form, of Palestinian rights to self-determination and statehood. Most importantly, such a solution would, according to this line of reasoning, require American pressure on Israel to relinquish occupied lands, and the US should never hesitate to exert such pressure, regardless of domestic considerations.

Error and Betrayal generally falls into this line of thought. The argument is all the more effective since it is based on a thorough investigation of a limited subject: American involvement in the Lebanese quagmire. The book relies heavily on newspaper accounts as well as on information provided in *Israel's Lebanon War* by Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari (1984). The organisation of the material leaves little doubt, if one accepts Ball's premises, that Israel betrayed the US in Lebanon, and the US erred in not taking a firm stand against that betrayal and against Israel's overall policy. As a result, American prestige in the area was lost, as were a considerable number of American lives.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One, "The Invasion and its Aftermath," describes developments from the beginning of the Israeli invasion in June 1982 to the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon in February 1984, with particular reference to American involvement in the events. Each chapter includes, besides the actual account, lengthy comments and analysis of the ramifications of the events in question. Part Two, "Lessons and Consequences," is an analysis of the overall pattern of US-Israeli relations. Ball dedicates this part to refuting the common argument favouring a close US-Israeli alliance. He does not see Israel as a guardian of American interests but rather as a willful mini-power in pursuit of its own grandiose designs — designs that often work against the real interests of the United States but are paradoxically encouraged by American indulgence of Israeli behaviour. The paramount concern in the book is that this relationship might lead to a more active military alliance between the two states, as Israel is increasingly demanding. Such an involvement, Ball argues, would threaten to turn any future conflagration in the area into a global and uncontrollable confrontation between the two superpowers, with disastrous results.

Ball charges that Israel repeatedly deceived Washington about its plans before, during, and after the invasion of Lebanon. He also accuses Israel of consistently breaking its promises to the US and to the international community throughout this period. Furthermore, he accuses the US administration of chronic weakness in curtailing Israeli behaviour, and inability to formulate a coherent Middle East policy. In addition, the Israeli invasion has served to renew and strengthen Soviet presence in the area, says Ball, through attempts to compensate Syria for its losses in the war.

Interestingly, the book includes a postscript, written largely by Dr Douglas B. Ball, Lieutenant Colonel MSC (US Air Force), about a little-known aspect of the war in Lebanon. It seeks to refute the common myth, now prevalent in Israel and increasingly taking root in the US, that had it not been for American intervention, the Israeli army would have annihilated Syrian resistance to the invasion in June 1982 and forever put an end to Syrian influence in the area. Douglas Ball argues that the performance of the Syrian army, long ignored by both Arabs and non-Arabs, was effective in limiting Israeli gains during the war, despite heavy Syrian losses. Israel was thus forced to halt its advances into the Shouf area and to concentrate instead on the coastal zone leading to its siege of Beirut, which Syria was powerless to prevent because of the loss of its air force and air defence system. As the fruits of the invasion later soured in Israel's mouth, General Arik Sharon sought to use Washington as a scapegoat for the Israeli failure, thereby creating the myth that American pressure was the primary motive behind the Israeli-Syrian ceasefire. Lieutenant Colonel Ball proves irrefutably that the Israeli cabinet requested the ceasefire; it had little to do with American intervention.

George Ball's overall argument is premised on the assumption that the American political establishment is ideally based on democracy and that US foreign policy is a reflection of this ideal. Halfway through the book, he posits the central question to his thesis:

> For all the vaunted virtues of American democracy, how really effective is a political system so paralysed by domestic pressures that it lets its interests be compromised and its rights and laws flouted by a country only one-fifty-fifth its size? (p.47)

Furthermore, he believes the American interests in the Middle East, primarily the secure flow of oil, are in jeopardy because of the close association between Israel and the United States. He views the Arab world as marching resolutely towards development and sophistication. When one adds to this the well-known demographic factors, Ball marvels, what will happen both to Israeli security and American interests when the tables are turned against Israel and when the Arab governments overcome their feuds and internal problems and decide to take a united front against the enemy?

The book provides the most sophisticated American argument against current American policies towards Israel and the Middle East in general. For anyone who accepts George Ball's premises and believes in the feasibility of converting American public opinion to the benefit of the Arab side as a step towards solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, this book should prove a very useful tool. ■

Zaha Bustami is a PhD candidate at Georgetown University.

Survey Shows US Public at Od 's with Government on Middle East

Yasir Arafat

A survey of the American public's attitudes on the Middle East was released on April 19 and made public, reports Al Fajr's **Ghassan Bishara** *from Washington, DC. The study was conducted by* **the University of Michigan's Survey Research Centre, Institute for Social Research,** *on behalf of the International Centre for Research and Public Policy in Washington, DC. Its findings indicate that the American people are far ahead of their government in seeking a just and equitable solution to the Middle East conflict.*

Although information made available by this survey may not be new to some Middle East specialists, its significance can't be underestimated. Those who like to argue that US policy in the Middle East is supported by a large majority of the American public will now have to rethink those views. The results of this professionally conducted survey can readily be used by those American officials who seek to direct US policy into a more evenhanded path in accordance with the wishes of the American people in a region the public views as the second most explosive after Central America.

Excerpts from the survey report are presented below.

Major Findings and Interpretation

1. A significant majority (55 percent) of the American people think that peace in the Middle East will come only when the Palestinians have a state of their own in the West Bank. They do not think that such a state will constitute a threat to Israel's security.

Only 27 percent of the public think that a Palestinian state on the West Bank would be a threat to the security of Israel The 1982 Gallup survey commissioned by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations shows that the American public supports by a two-to-one margin, the formation of a separate and independent Palestinian sate. [John E Reilly, Ed, *American Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy 1983* (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1983), p. 5]

The US government's hostility to a Palestinian state therefore reflects the views of a minority of the US public, most likely what Seymour Lipset identified as the hard-core support for Israel in the United States (25 percent) that clusters around the pro-Israeli lobby.

2. Although most Americans are aware that the US government favours Israel, the majority (70 percent) think US policy should be evenhanded and not favour one side over the other. The great majority of Americans think it is important for the US government to maintain friendly relations with Israel (87 percent) as well as with the Arab countries (86 percent) in conflict with Israel. Again the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations study confirms this finding: "Overall, public opinion now shows more sympathy for both sides than has been the case in the past" (p. 5). Consistent with previous studies (eg, Lipset), some 20 percent believe that the US government should favour Israel only.

3. A majority of the respondents think present levels of aid to Israel

King Hussein

(US$2.6 billion a year) and to Egypt (US$2 billion) are too high. For both countries 55 percent think the present levels of aid are too high, and 30 percent think they are the right amount.

Most people, however, do not think that foreign aid should be used as an instrument to pressure an ally such as Israel to comply with the policy favoured by the United States (65 percent). Those who are willing to use aid as an instrument of pressure (26 percent) favour reducing aid rather than cutting it off or suspending it temporarily.

4. A majority of the respondents think the US government should participate in an international conference along with all the parties in order to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. The parties include the Soviet Union, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, and the PLO. It is quite clear that even though the general public views the PLO negatively, they still think it should be included in peace negotiations. The US government's refusal to have anything to do with the PLO within the context of peace negotiations is therefore at odds with the sentiment of the majority of the American public.

5. Of the leaders involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, President Mubarak of Egypt, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, and King Hussein of Jordan are perceived by those who know something about the Middle East as actively seeking a settlement, more so than Prime Minister Peres of Israel, Chairman Arafat, or President Assad of Syria.

Nevertheless, the majority of the population admit to a great lack of knowledge about peace efforts and say that they lack adequate information about the various countries in the region.

6. Most people consider Central America (44 percent) and the Arab-Israeli situation (25 percent) as the two most explosive international problems that deserve special attention by the Reagan administration.

Selected Questions

* Most Americans in fact a very high percentage (70 percent), think the US should not favour one side over the other in the conflict between Israel and the Arabs. Only 20 percent think the US should favour Israel. This figure is consistent with what Seymour Lipset had obtained (roughly 25 percent) as the hard-core support for Israel among the American public.

There is, therefore, overwhelming support for an evenhanded US policy in the Middle East.

Q: "In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should favour Israel favour Arab countries, or should the US not favour one side over the other?"

Favour Israel	20%
Favour neither side	70%
Favour Arab countries	0.2%
Don't know/N.A./other	12%

In addition, most Americans think it is as important to maintain friendly relations with Israel as with the Arab countries in conflict with Israel.

Q: "How important is it that the US maintain friendly relations with Israel? Is it very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?"

Very important	48%
Somewhat important	39%
Not important	6%
Don't know/other	8%

Q: "How important is it that the US maintain friendly relations with the Arab countries in conflict with Israel? Is it very important, somewhat important, or not important at all?"

Very important	44%
Somewhat important	42%
Not important	6%
Don't know/other	9%

* By a two-to-one margin, Americans think that peace in the Middle East will come only when the Palestinians have a state of their own. Most of the respondents do not think that a Palestinian state would be a threat to the security of Israel.

Q: "Next I will read two statements, and then I would like to know which of the two you agree with *most*.

"The first statement is:

Hafez al-Assad

"Peace in the Middle East will come only when the Palestinian people have a state of their own on the West Bank.

"The second is:

"A Palestinian state on the West Bank would be a threat to the security of Israel.

"Which statement do you agree with *most*?

1st statement	55%
2nd statement	27%
Both	2%
Neither	7%
Don't know	6%
N.A.	7%

[No significant statistical difference emerged when the order of the two statements was reversed for half the sample.]

* Sixty-five percent of the respondents think the US should participate in an international conference to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict that includes the PLO as well as all other participants. Only 24.4 percent, the hard-core Israeli supporters, do not think the US should participate.

"Some people suggest that an international conference including the US, the Soviet Union, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, and the PLO should convene and try to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. Do you think the US should participate in such a conference?"

Yes	66%
No	25%
Don't know/N.A	10%

About the Study

The Survey Research Centre conducted a nation-wide telephone interview with a probability sample of US households, using random digit dialing telephone sampling methods.

Each month, the centre conducts a total of approximately 650 interviews, 370 with a new random cross-section sample of US telephone households and 280 by a reinterview of the cross section sample from six months past. The total sample for this study is 655 interviews.

The margin of error for the total sample is +/-4.1

The study was conducted during the month of February 1985.

The sample was split in order to eliminate question order bias. One part of the sample (330) was interviewed with the question order given. In the other part (325), the question order was reversed.

This poll conforms to the code of ethics of the American Association for Public Opinion Research.

Shimon Peres

King Fahd

* King Hussein of Jordan has the highest favourable rating among the US public (45 percent), followed by Mubarak of Egypt, Fahd of Saudi Arabia, and Peres of Israel with 41 percent each. Chairman Arafat of the PLO has the least favourable opinion (11 percent), while President Assad of Syria has 24 percent.

Nevertheless, nearly one-third of the sample do not recognise Peres of Israel or Mubarak of Egypt. A quarter of the sample say they don't recognise Assad of Syria, Hussein of Jordan, or King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, while only 13 percent fail to recognise Arafat's name.

A significant majority (between 56 percent and 67 percent) of respondents do not know whether these same leaders are actively seeking a settlement (30 percent, 28 percent and 26 percent, respectively). Nineteen percent of the sample think that Peres is actively seeking a settlement. Arafat and Assad are perceived as trying to block peace efforts.

> "Overall, public opinion now shows more sympathy for both sides than has been the case in the past."

Q: "I'm going to read a list of names of leaders in the Middle East. As I read each name, please tell me whether you have a favourable or an unfavourable opinion of that leader. If I come to a name you don't recognise, just let me know and we'll go on to the next one."

	Fav.	Unfav.	Don't recog.	Other
Peres of Israel	41%	11	32	18
Assad of Syria	24%	37	25	17
Hussein of Jordan	45%	20	20	17
Arafat of PLO	11%	65	13	13
Mubarak of Egypt	41%	11	34	17
Fahd of Saudi Arabia	41%	15	28	18

Q: "Now, going over the same list of leaders, would you say that Prime Minister Peres of Israel is actively seeking a settlement in the Arab-Israeli conflict, trying to block peace efforts, or don't you have have an opinion?"

	Seeking peace	Blocking peace	Don't know	Other
Peres	19%	7	67	8
Assad	10%	23	61	8
Hussein	26%	13	56	8
Arafat	9%	43	41	8
Mubarak	30%	6	59	8
Fahd	28%.	9	57	8

* A great majority of Americans feel that they lack information about the various national groups in the Middle East. The best known are the Israelis, followed by the Egyptians. The least known are the Syrians, followed by Jordanians, the Saudis, and the Palestinians.

Q: "Next I would like to know whether you know enough about each of the national groups I will mention, or whether you feel you lack information about any of them.

	Know Enough	Lack Info	Other
Syrians	7%	86	8
Palestinians	18%	76	8
Israelis	30%	63	8
Saudis	17%	76	8
Egyptians	20%	73	7
Jordanians	11%	82	7

The week-long curfew in Ramallah and al-Bireh Easter Week cost the 45,000 residents of the twin cities heavily in different ways. *Al Fajr*'s Sami Aboudi spoke with residents to find out how they coped.

Life Under Curfew

A round-the-clock curfew imposed on the twin cities of Ramallah and al-Bireh March 31 to April 4 following the slaying of a Jewish settler in the market caught most residents by surprise, leaving many unprepared for a week-long period of captivity inside their homes and places of business.

The most serious problem facing residents was food shortage, especially basics like bread, milk, and fruits and vegetables. Such shortages were particularly problematic for some as the curfew coincided with Easter week, normally a time of massive shopping, cooking, and cleaning. Palestinians from out of town were also trapped in the city. More than 200 bystanders were detained for questioning as Israeli troops quickly sealed off all roads leading in or out of the town. Merchants also reported great losses as a result of the eight-day closure.

Only Israeli soldiers were out on the misty streets of Ramallah and al-Bireh during the curfew March 31 – April 7.

Detained

Issa Ali Issa, a construction worker in his late thirties, and his younger brother Mousa were arrested immediately after leaving al-Maidan building on Jaffa Street a few minutes after the announcement of the curfew. Issa told *Al Fajr* he and his brother had decided to hurry home when they heard Israeli soldiers drive through the city broadcasting the curfew over loudspeakers. "We just changed our clothes and went downstairs, where we were picked up by a military car," Issa said.

The street was already deserted except for a lone couple trying to get home. Israeli soldiers stopped and arrested the young man

said Issa. The woman's ID card was confiscated and she was ordered to pick it up at the local police station.

Along with more than 100 youths, Issa and his brother were held at the al-Bireh bus station for nearly three hours. They said Israeli officers and plain-clothes policemen questioned them on their presence in the city centre.

Trapped without Food

Seven other labourers working in the same al-Maidan building chose to stay put after they saw their co-workers arrested. Issa said his friends told him they thought at first that the curfew would be lifted in the evening. Only two months earlier, on February 4, an Israeli solier was killed also in the city centre and a five-hour curfew imposed. But the workers found themselves trapped in the building on March 31 without food or proper shelter all night. Residents near the area told *Al Fajr* they smuggled blankets and food to the site and that two of the workers were taken ill as a result of sleeping out in the cold rainy night air.

In the nearby Rabah Hotel, which is used for university housing, more than 50 Bir Zeit University students were also locked inside without enough food. A neighbouring grocery store owner took the risk of providing them with food for the night.

On the second day of curfew, residents began to feel the pinch. The fact that the curfew had coincided with the last day of the month — either before most wage earners had been paid or before those who received their salaries were able to shop — forced many people to sneak out of the curfew areas through back streets to neighbouring Beitunia or the northern Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina for food. They risked being shot or arrested for curfew violation.

Tragedy

Zaki Abu Laban, a 29-year-old car electrician, drove to Beitunia for bread and milk for his two infant children — Ruwan, 3, and Mahmoud, 1 — and for his pregnant wife. On returning home, he was stopped at every checkpost and prevented from continuing. After a long delay, he managed to drive to his house through windy backroads outside the curfew zone. At home he found his wife and two children had died from a gas leak while inexplicably trapped in the bathroom. Relatives told *Al Fajr* that had he not been delayed by the checkposts, Abu Laban could have saved them.

On the evening of the second day, the Israeli military governor of Ramallah — locally known as "Captain Maurice" — summoned the head of the city's Chamber of Commerce, Ibrahim Khalil al-Far, and gave him permits for bakeries to open their shops. He also offered to give milk producers permits to distribute food. Al-Far told *Al Fajr* that he then drove to the bakers' homes and gave them the permits. This, however, seemed more of a demonstrative move on the part of the military governor than anything else, since whatever bread was baked could not be sold to the city residents locked in their homes.

On Tuesday, April 2, the third day, the Israelis lifted the curfew for one hour, from 10:00 to 11:00 am, to allow residents of the cities to buy food. Within moments of the announcement, shops, bakeries, and produce markets were flooded with shoppers. Food left over from Sunday, when the curfew began, and bread prepared by the bakers disappeared in a glance.

Heavy Losses for Vendors

At al-Bireh produce market, vendors who had fled their booths in a hurry when Israeli troops clamped the city under curfew found that most of their goods had been destroyed.

The vendors estimated that all the area's produce merchants had lost nearly JD20,000 (US$47,200) in stock because they were not allowed to pack up when the curfew was declared.

The lifting of the curfew for one hour gave residents the impression that it was going to continue for a long time. People were already speculating that at least the *manara* (city centre) would be closed for several days, especially since a number of Jewish settlers and friends of the slain man were holding an authorised vigil in front of the produce market, on the site where their friend was killed.

Mourning Curtailed

Despite an official announcement the first day that the curfew would be lifted Wednesday, April 3 at 2:00 pm, it was in fact tightened in anticipation of trouble during the funeral of Ramallah Mayor and nationalist leader Karim Khalaf, who died at his Jericho home one day before the curfew.

The family had scheduled the funeral in accordance with the army's announcement. But Israeli military jeeps drove through the city all morning and soldiers repeatedly threatened that "curfew violators will be shot without warning." Residents were not allowed any time to shop that day, and the Israeli military presence was heightened in the two cities. This was particularly true in Ramallah, where the funeral was taking place.

Despite the harsh and frequent warnings, Israeli troops used little force to keep away the hundreds of residents who dared to participate in the funeral. Most were merely told to go home. There were, however, isolated reports of the beating of some youths found in the streets. Al-Odaireh neighbourhood residents reported that a youth from the al-Rantisi family was beaten severely by Israeli soldiers. But virtually all of the city's 22,000 residents were barred from taking part in Karim Khalaf's funeral, with Israeli troops closing all roads leading to the Ramallah Orthodox Church and turning back anyone who tried to drive through. Most residents climbed rooftops to watch the funeral procession from the deceased mayor's home in Batn al-Hawa to the church, and from the church to the cemetery.

On Thursday, the fifth day, the curfew was eased a little in the outskirts of the city, but remained tightly in force in the two cities' centre. Many residents managed to leave town for Jerusalem and elsewhere through side streets. The army lifted the curfew for two hours to allow residents to shop, leading again to speculation that the curfew was going to drag on. But the curfew was officially lifted the same afternoon.

The centre of the two cities, however, remained closed until Easter Sunday, April 7, when all checkposts were eventually dismantled. Israeli troops were then posted on rooftops overlooking the cities' centre. Before lifting the restriction, the military authorities issued an order closing 23 Ramallah and al-Bireh shops — including a pharmacy and all those in the immediate vicinity of the produce market — for two months. The military justified the closure by saying that the shopowners had refused to give them a description of the settler's attacker. Shopowners said they were given a few hours to move the contents of the businesses to other places, where they were allowed to set up temporary shop.

Merchants in the *manara* area — the commercial district in Ramallah and al-Bireh — said they were the most hurt by the closure. One grocery store owner told *Al Fajr* that merchants suffered multiple losses on the value of their stocks not sold, profits not made, and loss of goods which rotted during the eight-day closure. The shopowner, who declined to give his name, said all city merchants lost between 10 to 15 percent on expected sales. He explained that they also lost the excess revenue that usually accrues during Easter week, when shoppers buy more than at any other time of the year. He said they were unable to make bank deposits to cover checks previously written to wholesalers, hence incurring high daily interest fines on the amount of the bounced checks. Heavy losses also accrued from spoiled dairy products and meat.

The merchant, however, said their losses were minimal compared to the 23 stores closed for two months. "This is collective punishment," he said. "Are any of these merchants responsible for the killing of the settler?" he asked. ■

The Palestine Spring Exhibition

Art fans view a wide variety of works by 50 members of the League of Palestinian Artists – many exhibiting for the first time – at El-Hakawati Theatre. /AO photo

by Baher Ashhab

The League of Palestinian Artists in the West Bank and Gaza opened its first all-member exhibit in Jerusalem's Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre. The 10-day Palestine Spring Art Exhibition included 104 works of art contributed by 50 artists from the West Bank, Gaza and the Galilee.

The exhibit included works by several veteran artists such as Suleiman Mansour, Karim Dabbah, and Nabil Anani, and several newcomers such as Saqr Qatil, Ibrahim Muzain Ahmad Abu Kas, and Khalil Abu Arafeh. The exhibit will become an annual event on the same date as part of several activities of the league. Past activities included a joint exhibit with Israeli artists, sponsorship of individual exhibits, and art seminars.

The league's administrative committee gave league members only two months to present four art pieces for exhibition and although the committee did not require new works, several artists felt obliged to produce especially for the show and did so. Others offered previously shown pieces, and some even contributed works they did as college assignments. The college works gave an amateur and immature flavour to what should have been a professional exhibit. This, in addition to the inadequate time for preparation, adversely affected the general quality of the exhibit. When asked why his painting lacked a certain detail, one artist responded that he did not have time to finish it in time for the show. League representatives, who launched their union and elected an executive committee only four months ago, felt, however, that by exhibiting works of all league members promptly, they could offer the public a glimpse of the league's artistic merit and attract moral and financial support for its activities. The exhibition was also planned as one more exhibit in a chain of shows begun last January with the "Artists Against Occupation and for Freedom of Expression" exhibit with Israeli artists and the March Land Day exhibit in Nazareth.

The spring exhibit, nevertheless, is not on par with its two predecessors, for it was badly organised and rapidly put up. This was reflected in the lower-than-expected attendance during and after opening night.

The 104 paintings and drawings crowded the walls of Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, a theatre that should at best house 50-70 paintings. Several large works dominated the smaller ones, and some even acted as background for others, diminishing the full effect of each. Two artists had three of their paintings in one corner of the theatre and a fourth in the opposite corner.

Perhaps the most damaging organisational *faux pas* was that not one work had a title. This was deliberate, according to organisers: "It was meant to give viewers a chance to interpret the works without the interference of titles," said Karim Dabbah. This was simple enough for paintings of typically Palestinian subject matters, but several works were purely futuristic, mystic, or just unrecognisable patches of colour. The lack of titles only made the art less interesting and a waste of viewers' time. If titles had been included in the exhibit catalogue, it would have saved viewers unnecessary guesswork. Furthermore the names of artists were not exhibited next to their works clearly, allowing for confusion as to who had done what.

Several artists interviewed agreed that the show could have been better organised. Gazan artist Taysir Barakat even suggested that several of the paintings included in the exhibit should not have been chosen at this time because, he said, they hurt the overall quality of the show. He said, however that one of the league's main purposes is "to encourage young and new artists to produce, and then directing them to improve their production." The next exhibit should be governed more strictly and have a better outlook, said Taysir.

The exhibit created some controversy among league members themselves when the executive committee chose a group of five people to judge and award prizes for the three best works. The judges were Faisal Husseini (head of the Arab Studies Centre), Anis al-Qaq (a dentist and secretary of El-Hakawati's Board of Trustees), Ibrahim Dakkak (head of the Professional Engineers' Union), Nahil Bishara (an artist), and Abd al-Hamid Taqash (a Gazan writer). They awarded first prize of JD150 to Suleiman Mansour, second prize of JD100 to Jawad Ibrahim and Fathi Gabin, and third prize to Taysir Barakat, Karim Dabbah, and Saqr Qatil.

The controversy arose when a few artists objected to the very idea of competition and to the choice of judges. Artist Khalil Abu Arafeh argued that for a competition to be fair, it should be divided into categories where prizes are given to the best oil, best drawing best sculpture, and so forth. The judges were only given broad, basic criteria from which to choose winners. 'Most of us were not told of those criteria; thus we offered our works without knowing how they would be judged," Abu Arafeh said. Abu Arafeh and two other artists said that although the judges are well respected in their specialised fields that does not necessarily qualify them to judge an art exhibit, especially when prizes are to be awarded. "They may represent the intellectual section of our society, but what about the common people whose issues we often address? They should have been the judges," one artist argued. He suggested that the public judge the exhibit after viewing it and award the prizes. Suleiman Mansour, vice-president of the league, agreed that there were flaws in the way the competition was arranged but maintained that the artists were informed of the procedures well in advance and could have voiced their opposition beforehand. He pledged, however that division by categories would be implemented the next time they plan a competition.

> The exhibition had to be seen as an experiment, one that joined veteran and amateur artists.

The inferior quality of the exhibit was surprising considering the fact that the league represents the current Palestinian art movement which has been active for almost two decades. Its existence and maturity is the responsibility of league members, some of whom are its pioneers. Someone viewing the exhibit is looking at what must be considered the culmination of 20 years' work; therefore, any flaws in the exhibit the viewer might attribute to the art movement itself. The exhibit, unfortunately then, gives the viewer the impression of a struggling and immature movement. One would have expected a league which includes such well-established artists as Mansour, Anani, and Dabbah to offer a more satisfactory show.

The exhibition had to be seen therefore as an experiment, one that joined veteran and amateur artists, or one offering the chance to compare the works of the "old masters" with those of the aspiring ones. It is by no means to be considered an example of the current state of the Palestinian art movement. There was far too much repetition of subject matter obvious in several works. Some went as far as imitating rather than producing anything original. Several other works seemed naive in concept and weak in composition and technique. A few were rhetorical and over-emphatic. These flaws can be attributed, of course, to the hasty organisation and the inclusion of several new artists, yet to mature and achieve exhibition standards. One artist argued, however, that the exhibit was not meant to be considered alongside international works but rather up against a local standard. The public, he argued, are relatively undemanding and not so well-informed artistically speaking. The exhibit is only a beginning, he said, adding "you haven't seen anything yet."

There were several works in the exhibit which deserve praise. These works were seen for the first time in Jerusalem and they offered a glimpse of quality art. They contained fresh ideas and were a pleasant surprise to those attending the exhibit.

Taysir Barakat who is establishing himself as the "mystic" of the Palestinian art movement, introduced three medium-sized oils with a touch of pencil. The three are less than half the size of his previous work because, he said, "I have not sold any of my giant pieces and decided not to spend too much on these." Large or small, Barakat was able to offer complete pieces. His interest and immersion in Sufi readings has greatly influenced his canvases. He employed soft, deep oil colours using linear gestures in pencil to produce mystical impressions of three villagers on one canvas, barely seen figures in a second canvas, and a pigeon on the horizon in the last. Barakat is original in his ideas and composition, filling the audience with wonder as to what he will do next.

George Nastas is perhaps the unchallenged master of sculpture in the occupied territories. A graduate of Aniaza Institute of Sculpture in Italy and a holder of a BA in fine art from the University of Florida, he is able to produce the purist of classical or the best in modernist sculpture. He offered two works for this exhibit which represent both styles. The first is a half complete, decaying face of an old man with *kafiyya*. The face could easily be that of a Roman bureaucrat complete with bulging eyes, plump cheeks, and straight nose. It belongs, however to a simple Palestinian farmer left to decay before he obtains his full rights as a human being, says Nastas. His fist is clenched underneath his chin, indicating thought and determination.

Nastas' other work is a simple ball-shaped limestone piece. It is cut in two and contains in its centre a tiny,

continued on page 10

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The killing of a Gaza youth, the three-day closure of Bethlehem University, the latest attempted sea operation, and the continuing bloodshed in Lebanon were the top stories in the local Palestinian press this week.

The fatal shooting by Israeli soldiers of a 12-year-old boy in the Bureij refugee camp in Gaza and the subsequent arrests and demonstrations were prominently covered in the local papers.

The Israeli raid on a book fair at Bethlehem University and the decision to declare the campus area a closed military zone for three days also received front-page coverage.

All local dailies ran stories on their front pages about the attempted Palestinian raid from the sea, its failure, and the capture and killing of Palestinian commandos on the ship.

Local papers continued their full coverage of all aspects of the escalating strife in Lebanon, with special attention given to the continuous attacks on Palestinian camps near Sidon.

The Crisis of the Amman Agreement

The people who met with Murphy in Jerusalem or outside are interested only, as is clear from their statements and attitudes, in the participation of the official PLO leadership in the negotiations with the US together with Egypt and Jordan.

It has become clear from these statements and attitudes that they consider negotiations with the US as an end in itself with complete disregard of the declared and confirmed US position, which denies the right of our people to self-determination, an independent state, and regaining its territories occupied since 1967.

Past experiences have made it clear that separating the negotiation process from the goals it should achieve led to the failure of these goals. The present experience indicates an "erosion" in the basics declared by Fatah leadership even before the start of negotiations.

Talk had begun about a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. The Palestinian side should have been representative of the PLO. Then talk shifted from a Palestinian party appointed by the PLO but whose members are not PLO members, to talk about Palestinian members in the joint delegation to whom the PLO does not object.

All this was before the arrival of Murphy. When Murphy came, the talk turned to a Jordanian delegation which Palestinians may join later on.

This dwindling of attitudes underlines the truthfulness of the position of those who objected to the Amman agreement from the beginning. It also emphasises that those who thought that the basics would govern the move are mistaken. The point to which this move has reached requires all to abort the Amman agreement.

AL TALI'A
April 18

In Beirut's Camps

While the isolationist forces of Samir Ja'ja' are shelling Palestinian camps in the Sidon area, the Palestinian camps in Beirut area are being besieged by nationalist forces.

All of a sudden the Amal movement joins a unified military command with the forces of Jumblatt. It is clear that a new alignment under Syrian guidance, is being formed to strike Lebanese forces and blunt the Palestinian edge in the camps.

Just a few months ago fighting erupted in Beirut camps between Amal and Palestinian forces. But the incident was soon forgotten. Amal did the same thing in the mid-1970's. Therefore, we wonder what the aims of these new aggressions are.

What is happening now is closely connected with the divisive Syrian role in Lebanon. No doubt that the resignation of Rashid Karameh dealt a severe blow to the Syrian scheme. The rulers in Damascus should draw a lesson from the unified stand of the fighters in Sidon camps in the face of the fascist forces

AL SHA'AB
April 19

Inside the Old City

It seems that the racist Kach movement has discovered that the worries of the Arab residents inside the Old City are not enough. Kach has therefore decided to compound the suffering of the Arabs. It formed the "Old City Unit," whose armed members patrol the streets of the Old City planting panic and terror in residents' hearts on the pretext of protecting Jews

It has become known that the Kach movement is an extremist movement that has provoked Arabs everywhere. It has a symbol of hatred against the Arabs.

There are fears that these armed elements may start provoking Arabs inside the Old City. The question is whether the law permits this armed unit to be formed on the pretext of protecting Jews. Is the security service unable to provide security for Jews inside the Old City? Does the ministry of police agree to such an arrangement? The indifference of the competent authorities will lead to serious developments and will cast doubt on their ability to restrain extremists.

AL QUDS
April 20

Non-Aligned Countries Support Palestinian Cause

The non-aligned countries' eight-member committee on Palestine realised a great international position, despite the shameful attitude of the Libyan, Syrian, and Iranian stand at New Delhi's session. The committee issued a statement confirming the non-aligned countries' support of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO under the leadership of Yasir Arafat

The Syrian-Libyan-Iranian position vanished. The PLO came out victorious. It realises the great importance of this support at this stage. It works for the development of this support into support for the international conference that should be attended by all parties under the auspices of the United Nations. We shall remain hopeful that the idea of the international conference will be promoted despite the obstacles placed by Syria and Iran.

AL FAJR
April 22

Will the US Position Change?

If reports about the possibility of an American recognition of the PLO without conditions are true, then this would be our indication of a change in American policy.

But these reports link the American recognition of the PLO with the latter's acceptance of resolution 242, which considers the Palestinian cause as merely a "refugee problem." The PLO has always rejected it.

If this American approach continues to issue conditioned optimistic statements this means that the US position is still the same, revolving around the Israeli point of view.

Since PLO acceptance of 242 is unacceptable, then all results, including an American move, are out of the question. The positive element in these reports is that Reagan did not object to the PLO's selection of Palestinian members to the joint delegation. Nevertheless, these reports were not confirmed by American sources. And since Murphy is still in the area it is premature to predict a change in the American policy unless official sources in Washington say so.

AL QUDS
April 22

The Syrian-Israeli Equation in Lebanon

The Syrian-Israeli equation in Lebanon is interrelated in more than one way and at more than one level. It became, during the third and last phase of the Israeli withdrawal, a very complicated and interwoven map. Yet it is quite clear concerning two facts:

* Syria's recognition of the isolationist force represented by Lahad in south Lebanon. This force is connected with Israel and its security plans in that area.

* Israel's recognition of Syria's control of Lebanese rule in Beirut. This gives Assad the chance to confront his "political opponents" with the Lebanese stick.

This mutual recognition between Israel and Syria reveals the dimensions of the situation in Lebanon. In the south, Israel is trying to make arrangements through the isolationist forces. This would threaten the Palestinian camps with constant shelling. In Beirut itself, the pro-Syrian forces are attacking the Palestinian camps and liquidating the nationalist forces that stand in their way. So where will Lebanon be? Where will the national movement be? How will the situation develop after withdrawal?

The Syrian regime is responsible for Lebanon's disaster and for the continuing massacres.

AL FAJR
April 23

NETUREI KARTA SHUNS ISRAELI 'INDEPENDENCE'

Members of Jerusalem's Neturei Karta community put up posters this week announcing their unique "celebration" of Israel's Independence Day. The community called on Orthodox Jews to observe a day of fasting, prayer, and lamentation April 25 in the midst of the rest of the country's festivity.

Hundreds of posters were put up in Jerusalm's Mea Shearim neighbourhood and other areas where Orthodox Jews live. They called for the "liquidation of the Zionist state," saying that "for 37 years the enemies of G-d, in cooperation with religious parties, have falsely applied the name 'Israel' to the unholy state which they created." The posters said the founding of the "Zionist state is a violation of G-d's charge to the Jewish people not to rebel against the nations of the world."

Orthodox Jews were called upon to abstain from food and drink April 25 and to meet in order to chant psalms and prayers of lamentation.

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, spokesperson of the Neturei Karta Orthodox movement, said he intended to drape black flags from public institutes and balconies in Mea Shearim. He said stores and schools would remain open as usual. The ecclesiastical court in Mea Shearim also called on the Orthodox community not to participate in the festive atmosphere surrounding the Israeli celebration of the anniversary.

Rabbi Hirsch told *Al Fajr*, "Slowly but surely, more and more Jews are becoming disenchanted with the Zionist state, and we can expect a much larger segment of the Jewish people to be sympathetic with our way of 'celebrating' their 'independence' day."

Hirsch was just recently acquitted of charges of defaming the Israeli flag after he wrote in a local weekly that the "Zionists have no other way to celebrate independence except by raising a blue and white rag."

جامعة بيرزيت

BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY SUMMER PROGRAMME 1985

1. *Arabic 131: Classical, Beginners.*
2. *Arabic 132: Classical, Intermediate.*
3. *Arabic 130: Colloquial, Beginners.*
4. *Sociology 335: Sociology of Religion.*
5. *Sociology 438: Development Under Occupation.*
6. *Sociology 234: Palestinian Society.*
7. *Anthropology 233: Introduction to Folklore.*
8. *Political Science 433: Modernisation of the Arab World.*

The six-week courses will run from July 1 — August 16.

Tuition: US$250 per course. Application Fee: US$25.
Housing: US$175 for 6 weeks. Medical Fee: US$10.
For course descriptions and application forms write to:

Summer Programme 1985
Office of the Registrar
Bir Zeit University
P.O. Box 14, Bir Zeit
West Bank, via Israel

Calendar

April 26

Day for the Handicapped: Caritas Hospital in Bethlehem will sponsor a special day about the handicapped. The day begins at 9:00 am with a *lecture* entitled *The Social and Psychological Aspects of Handicaps* by Drs Mubarak, Dabduk, and Qawasmeh. A film and other events follow. Tel:(02) 741171/2.

Symposium: *The Historic Meeting Between Pope John Paul II and Assyrian Patriarch Zaka I Aiwous*, sponsored by the Jerusalem Forum. Speakers include Bishop Lutfi Laham and Bishop Bahnam Hijawi. At the YMCA, East Jerusalem, 5:30 pm. Tel:(02) 282593.

Exhibit: The Art Club at Bethlehem University will hold an Art Exhibit and Festival on campus from 2:00 — 4:00 pm. Tel:(02) 741241.

Theatre: *The Dictator*, performed by the al-Rahala Theatre Troupe at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 7:00 pm. Tickets IS1500. Tel:(02) 288189/280957.

April 27

Party: Beit Sahour Parks opens the summer season by a party with the Spiders music group. 8:00 pm. Tickets on sale at the Hamburger House, Bethlehem.

Theatre: *The Dictator*, performed by the al-Rahala Theatre Troupe at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 7:00 pm. Tickets IS1500. Tel:(02) 288189/280957.

Exhibit: The Art Club at Bethlehem University continues its art exhibit and festival on campus from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm. Tel:(02) 741241.

April 28

Theatre: *When the Dead Come Alive*, performed by the Palestinian Theatre Troupe at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 3:00 am and 7:00 pm. Tickets IS1500. Tel:(02) 288189/280957.

Exhibit: The Art Club at Bethlehem University continues its art exhibit and festival on campus from 9:00 am to 4:00 pm. Tel:(02) 741241.

April 30

Book Fair: Sponsored by the High School Students Committee at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, 10:00 am — 7:00 pm. The book fair continues through May 2.

May 1

Rally: Sponsored by the Workers Progressive Bloc at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, East Jerusalem, 11:00 am. Tel: (02) 288189/280957.

Rally: Sponsored by the Workers Unity Bloc at the al-Hambra Cinema hall, East Jerusalem, 3:00 pm.

May 2

Exhibit: Sponsored by the High School Students Committee at the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in East Jerusalem, 4:00 pm. Tel:(02) 288189/280957.

Concert: *Bach Organ Festival Recital*, by Elizabeth Roloff. One of a series of twelve weekly concerts on Thursday evenings to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the birth of Johann Sebastian Bach. At the Church of the Redeemer, Muristan Road (Old City), Jerusalem, 8:30 pm. Tickets available at door. Tel:(02) 282543/286654.

LEARN ARABIC WITH ARABS IN JERUSALEM

The Arab Council for Public Affairs Announces

An Intensive, Two-Month Arabic Course for foreign students

July 1 — August 30

The course will include: day-long teaching workshops, boarding arrangements in furnished apartments and rooms, visits to Arab homes, tours of the country, and more.

For Further Information, write:

Arab Council for Public Affairs
Cultural Department
P.O. Box 19839, Jerusalem

NOTICE

All institutions, unions, and organisations in the West Bank and Gaza are encouraged to submit notices of activities and events for advertisement in *Al Fajr* English Weekly's calendar. Include the name of the event, the location, time, telephone number, and price. Entries can be submitted by telephone (02-281835) or by mail to *Al Fajr* English, P.O. Box 19315, East Jerusalem. Deadline: Thursdays at 12:00 noon for Friday publication.

Lebanon Quagmire

continued from page 5

Army (SLA), an Israeli-financed and trained Christian militia, and on its retaliatory threats to prevent any attacks on the Galilee area. Nevertheless, this formula will in no way guarantee security of Israel's northern borders. Hitherto, an estimated 17,000 Lebanese civilians have been killed since Israel's invasion. Almost every home or family in south Lebanon has had a casualty. These will, no doubt, harbour and help those willing to attack Israeli forces and settlements close to the Lebanon borders. On the other hand, the Shi'ites, the largest ethnic group in south Lebanon, are strongly opposed to the SLA and will, therefore, oppose its attempt to control the south. Until the invasion, Israel enjoyed somewhat friendly relations with these Shi'ites. But now, as an occupier, Israel has become the object of hatred and violence. Only recently, Shi'ite Muslim leaders called for an Islamic *jihad* or holy war against Israeli troops because it was the "sole way for liberation and victory."

Ironically, once Israel completes its withdrawal from Lebanon, that pact against its northern borders could very well be fiercer because Israel has created for itself many more enemies than it used to have and because those attacking would know quite well that Israel could not afford, either politically, financially, or militarily, to invade Lebanon one more time.

Bishara Bahbah, former editor-in-chief of Al Fajr *Arabic daily, is currently a visiting professor at Brigham Young University in the US.*

Spring Exhibition

continued from page 11

pinkish fetus. The manner in which the two works were exhibited proved a setback, however. The face of the man with a *kafiyya* was set only a few centimetres above the floor, concealing the fist. The second was too far above waist level for one to see what was in the ball. The lighting was not manipulated to emphasise facial expression or to effect a shadow.

Zeidan Naizi is a new artist from Gaza. League organisers did well by choosing one of his works for the cover of the exhibit's catalogue. Naizi introduced to the Palestinian art scene a new style with elements of Georges Seurat, Renoir, and Picasso. He uses various densities of pencil dotting to produce a complex composition with a side view of kinetic figures and architectural landscape. Each of the five drawings offers a completely new concept and composition, proving to be a well-planned and well-designed production. Naizi was able to utilise what otherwise could have been repetitive subject matter, such as village life in the occupied territories, and make out of it an extremely complex and original work. He also shows much talent in positioning his main figure, using interesting angles and filling in the background with equally interesting figures and shapes.

Ahmad Abu Kas, another artist from Gaza, graduated from Hilwan University in Cairo and was exhibiting for the first time in the occupied territories. His work is interesting in that he succeeds in mainly using primary oil colours on canvas. He shows striking ability in his use of freedom of stroke and richness in texture to produce impressive paintings. The four canvases he offered show a consistency in style, which may propel him to a position of dominance in the local art movement.

Fatin Tobassi introduced two excellent paintings of a mother and child and of a shepherd. She used cool and appealing colours in a simple photo-realist composition typical of Tobassi. She is a graduate of Ribin Academy of Art in Leningrad. She has held a solo exhibit in the past.

Other artists exhibited varied in style but addressed much the same subject matter of Palestinian landscape and imagery. There were the pure realists such as Majed Nakfoury and Khalil Abu Arafeh; the abstract realists like Fathi Gabin, Qassem Mansour and Hashem Kallub; the pure folkists like Nabil Anani and Khader Abu Ahmad; and the abstract expressionists like Suleiman Mansour and Jawad Ibrahim.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Batik, a relatively recent addition to Palestinian art, is exhibited at a craft show entitled "Palestinian Flowers" held at the Chamber of Commerce in East Jerusalem. The exhibit was organised by Al-Fatat al-Laji'ah Girl's School Tuesday, April 23./AO photo

April 17, 1985

12 YEARS FOR MOLOTOV

Mustafa Tawfiq Ja'far, 23, of Qabatya village in the Jenin district was sentenced to eight years in prison and four years suspended by the Israeli military court in Nablus. He was charged with throwing Molotov cocktails at Israeli army vehicles.

QALQILYA ORANGE TREES DESTROYED

Unidentified persons uprooted 20 orange trees this week owned by Idris al-Ashqar of Qalqilya. This is the fourth sabotage act against Ashqar's orange and olive trees in recent months.

SAMIH KHALIL ARRESTED IN JORDAN

The Jordanian authorities arrested Samih Salameh Khalil, DFLP central committee member, for unknown reasons April 10. Samiha Khalil, head of the al-Bireh-based Family Rehabilitation Society, asked for permission to leave for Jordan to inquire about her son, Samih, but Israeli authorities turned down her request.

MUKHTAR'S HOUSE BOMBED

A petrol bomb was tossed at the home of the *mukhtar* of the village of Tammun in the Nablus district. The bomb ignited a fire in the house, damaging much of its furniture. Large numbers of Israeli soldiers arrived and arrested several residents.

STIFF SENTENCES FOR MEMBERSHIP

Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Walid Abdullah Kharyoush to 14 years and Abdullah Mohammed Diab to 10 years in prison. Both were charged with membership in Palestinian organisations.

PFLP CONDEMNS MURPHY MEETING WITH NOTABLES

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine yesterday condemned suspicious moves and contacts by US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy in the region.

The front strongly denounced the "notables" who attended a cocktail party held by Murphy "in their honour" at the American Consulate in West Jerusalem.

"These notables represent only themselves and not the Palestinian people," the PFLP said in a statement broadcast by Damascus Radio.

April 18, 1985

4 HALHOUL MEN WOUNDED BY ARMY

HALHOUL — Four youths from Halhoul were wounded by Israeli soldiers who chased them through the cemetery and opened fire on them.

The military governor of Hebron ordered the villagers to gather in a local public building where he threatened to close all entrances to the town and impose collective punishment should any Israeli vehicle be stoned in the area.

7 DHEISHEH CHILDREN DETAINED

Israeli military authorities detained seven youths from Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem for unknown reasons. They are: Ra'id Masis, Iyad Shahin, Mohammed Abu Ajamiyeh, Mohammed Mu'bed, Fuad Saleh, Habes al-Issa, and Khaled al-Ahmar. They are all 12-14 years old.

KA'ABNEH BEDUIN EXPELLED

The Israeli "green patrol," acting on orders from the Israeli Ministry of Defence, forced Ka'abneh Beduin out of the Deir Dibwan area. The Beduin have been subject to provocations by the "green patrol" for some time. The Beduin moved to new areas near Jaba', Bir Nabala, and other areas in the Ramallah district.

2 SILWAN YOUTHS SENTENCED

Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Mustafa ("al-Kalouni") Yasin Sabah and Mahmoud al-Abbasi of Silwan to four months in prison and three years suspended. They were convicted of preparing petrol bombs and throwing stones.

ONE YEAR FOR MEMBERSHIP

Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Khan Younis resident Hussein Khaled Abu Slieh to 12 months in prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

April 19, 1985

SOLDIER STONED NEAR DHEISHEH

An Israeli soldier was slightly injured when the bus in which he was travelling was stoned near Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem, Israel Radio said. The radio said the bus was on its way to Jerusalem from a military base near Hebron.

The passengers got off the bus and chased the stone-throwers, but were unable to catch any of them. One of the windows was smashed by stones.

ARAB WORKERS' BUS TRGETED

A bomb exploded near an Israeli bus carrying Arab labourers in Jerusalem. Police said there were no injuries or damage in the blast.

The labourers were on their way from Kalandia refugee camp to the industrial area southwest of Jerusalem when the explosion occurred. Police said a number of suspects were taken for questioning.

SHAWWA MEETS FRENCH GENERAL-CONSUL

The elected-and-deposed mayor of Gaza, Haj Rashad al-Shawwa, met with the French General-Consul and briefed him on conditions in the Gaza Strip and the Palestinian cause.

TULKARM UNION RAIDED

Israeli military authorities raided the Professional Unions headquarters in Tulkarm and arrested seven union members.

GAZAN GETS 45 MONTHS

The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Mahmoud al-Wadiyeh of Gaza to 45 months in prison on security charges.

8 MONTHS FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Wa'el Mohammed al-Shanti of Qalqilya to eight months in prison and two years suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and training in weapons.

The same court also sentenced Nablus youth Muzdaher Issawi to one month in prison and a IS500,000 fine on security charges.

21 IBRAHIMIYEH STUDENTS RELEASED

Israeli authorities released 21 students from the Ibrahimiyeh College in Jerusalem who were detained during a clash with the army and police two weeks ago. The students were all released on bail.

April 20, 1985

ISSA MOHAMMED BURIED

Issa Mohammed Isma'il, a 12-year-old boy from al-Bureij camp in the Gaza Strip who was shot dead by Israeli troops last week, was buried in his camp.

A Palestinian nurse releases for burial the body of a young girl killed in a bus accident on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway, Monday, April 22./AO photo

Israeli authorities permitted only a few members of Isma'il's family to attend the funeral, which took place late at night.

20 YEARS FOR GRENADE

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Ahmad Safouri of Jaffa to 20 years in prison on charges of throwing a hand grenade at an Israeli army base in Jaffa. One soldier was reportedly wounded in the attack.

JERICHO WOMAN GETS 5 YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Samar Zorba of Jericho to five months in prison and 13 months suspended. She was charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation.

DHEISHEH YOUTH RELEASED

Israeli military authorities released Fu'ad al-Atrash of Dheisheh camp after he served a nine-month jail sentence on security charges.

PALESTINIAN ARTIST BARRED FROM TRAVEL 2ND TIME

Israeli authorities prevented Palestinian artist Suleiman Mansour from travelling to Amman via Allenby Bridge. Mansour was on his way to Europe to attend symposia and give lectures on Palestinian art. This is the second time in a week that he has been sent back from the bridge by the authorities.

2 JENIN MEN JAILED

The Israeli military court in Jenin sentenced Faleh Mustafa Athamneh to eight months in prison and 12 months suspended, and Jamal Juma'h to two years in prison and one year suspended. The two were charged with security offences.

April 21, 1985

GAZANS GET STIFF SENTENCES

GAZA — The Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Kamal Hussein al-Khaldi and Abd al-Karim Hassan al-Khaldi to seven years in prison and five years suspended. They were charged with attempting to kill a suspected collaborator, hurling explosives at Israeli army vehicles, possession of weapons, and membership in Palestinian organisations.

The court also sentenced Yahya Mohammed Abu Mu'allek of al-Maghazi refugee camp in the Gaza Strip to four years in prison and 27 months suspended and Abd al-Majid Ali al-Hileh of Khan Younis to 18 months in prison and 18 months suspended. They were charged with possessing weapons and throwing bombs at suspected collaborators.

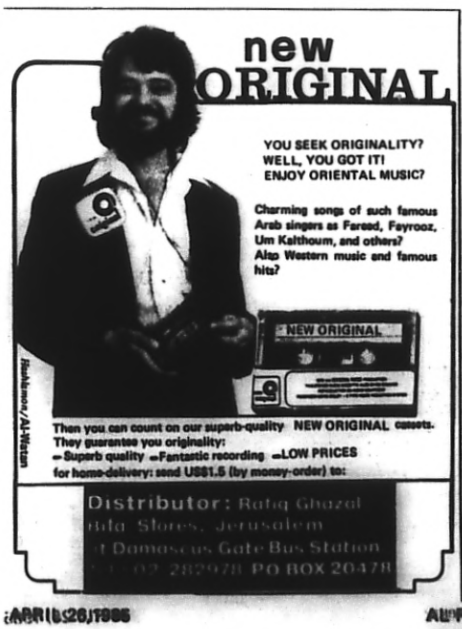
NO LAWYER FOR JAILED STUDENT

Ibrahim al-Ghandour, a student from Ain Beit al-Ma' refugee camp near Nablus, was sentenced to seven months in prison and seven months suspended. The Israeli military court refused to allow Ibrahim to be represented by a lawyer during the trial.

JABALYA BOMB DEFUSED

An explosive device was found in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip Israel Radio reported. It said police sappers safely defused the bomb.

TOP: A boy scout troop from the Young Men's Muslim Association marches through Jerusalem's centre Thursday, April 18 in celebration of the Muslim holiday of *Isra' wal Mi'raj*. BOTTOM: A bargain bazaar sponsored by the Shu'fat camp scout group was held in the hall of the Shu'fat youth centre in the Shu'fat refugee camp April 19-25./AO photos


new
ORIGINAL
YOU SEEK ORIGINALITY?
WELL, YOU GOT IT!
ENJOY ORIENTAL MUSIC?
Charming songs of such famous Arab singers as Fareed, Fayrooz, Um Kalthoum, and others?
Also Western music and famous hits?
NEW ORIGINAL
Then you can count on our superb-quality NEW ORIGINAL cassets.
They guarantee you originality:
—Superb quality —Fantastic recording —LOW PRICES
for home-delivery: send US$1.5 (by money-order) to:
Distributor: Rafiq Ghazal
Damascus Gate Bus Station
PO BOX 20478

SETTLER'S CAR STONED

HEBRON — An Israeli car belonging to a Jewish settler from Gush Etzion was pelted with stones as it passed near the town of Halhoul, Israel Radio said. The car's windshield was broken and an Israeli woman was lightly wounded, the radio reported.

JERUSALEMITE SENTENCED

The Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Harbi Mohammed al-Hiyari of Jerusalem to 10 months in prison and 20 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

April 22, 1985

HOUSES NEAR J'LEM BULLDOZED

Israeli authorities demolished two Arab-owned houses in the village of Sur Baher, south of Jerusalem, on the pretext of opening a new road in the area.

One of the houses is owned by Zahiyeh Attoun, a widow and mother of seven. The second is owned by Mohammed Awad Atwan, an unemployed labourer.

BUS TORCHED IN GAZA

Arsonists set fire to an Israeli Egged bus in the Shaja'iyah neighbourhood of Gaza, Israel Radio reported. It said the blaze destroyed the bus and that police are investigating the fire.

MOLOTOV LOBBED AT ISRAELI CAR

Unidentified persons threw a Molotov cocktail at an Israeli vehicle as it was passing near the village of Dhahiriyeh on the main road to Hebron, Israel TV reported. It said no injuries or damage were reported in the incident.

POLICE SEIZE FOREIGN CURRENCY IN RAID

Israeli police raided money-changing shops in Jerusalem and confiscated large sums of money in dollars and other foreign currency, except for the Jordanian Dinar. Israel Radio said the raid was part of "implementing a new law barring possession of and dealing with foreign currency.

April 23, 1985

DHEISHEH WOMAN JAILED

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Raja' Hassan al-Azzeh, a 21-year-old woman from Dheisheh refugee camp to four months in prison and eight months suspended. She was charged with "violating public order" and assaulting a woman soldier during a visit to Jnaid prison last month.

Raja' was released a year ago after she served a 20-month prison sentence in Ramleh prison on security charges.

Interview with Teacher Mufid Saidawi

Israeli Curricula Submerges Palestinian Nationalism

Israeli authorities recently submitted a list of proposals for improving curriculum in Arab schools inside the "green line." The proposals, coming after years of active protest by Arabs to the inferior nature of the curriculum, falls far short of needed improvements, as *Al Fajr*'s Awad Abdel Fattah discovers in this interview with Palestinian teacher Mufid Saidawi.

Mufid Saidawi is a representative of the Progressive Teachers Bloc (affiliated to the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) in the Israeli Histadrut Teachers Union. Saidawi has been working as a teacher for 16 years. He is also a member of the local council of his village, 'Ar'ara.

Q: To my knowledge, the committee which was appointed by the Israeli authorities in response to continued popular protest about the teaching curricula in the Palestinian schools investigated the problem and proposed changes. Do these proposals answer all the issues which you asked to be addressed?

A: No, they don't. They are only cosmetic changes aimed at defusing the popular protest which has been building up among the Palestinian masses in Israel for the last 36 years and which has escalated since the beginning of the seventies over the backwardness of the government-imposed curricula.

Under our pressure and protests, the Israeli ministry of education was forced to form investigative committees, which endorsed our complaints about the curricula. In 1975 it appointed a committee of five top teachers to draw up a new teaching curriculum for Arabic language and literature. But the committee resigned a few years later when its proposals were rejected. Then the ministry formed a new committee consisting of the director of the Arab affairs department in the education ministry, his deputy, an Israeli school inspector, and two other Arab inspectors whom the ministry viewed as "moderate." The committee proposed its new-old curriculum two years ago and a meeting for Arabic language teachers was called to discuss it.

The new-old curriculum incorporated no basic changes; this is made clear by looking at the old literature programme. The committee insisted on keeping the poems of Abu Nawwas in which he censures Arabs. Not a single poem was added which has anything to say about national integrity or pride in our people.

Poems by Ibrahim Tuqan, Abu Salma, Mahmoud Darwish, and Samih al-Qassem, who are all nationalist poets, were added — but these poems do not represent their poetry. All are about love and courtship which they wrote in the early stages of their careers.

Q: Is the problem only seen in the Arabic language and literature programme? What about other subjects?

A: In fact the problem is in the entire curricula imposed on the Arab schools. Most of the textbooks have not been changed in the last 20 years, and the Arabic grammar books are 75-years-old. The books are out-dated; they don't suit the spirit of time.

According to a study prepared by Dr Mohammed Habib-Allah, 61 percent of the elementary students in the Arab schools don't understand what they read. Of course this is not only because of obsolete textbooks but for other reasons such as the lack of qualified teachers, basic facilities, and equipment in the schools. All this put together produces a high rate of ignorance among Palestinian students, and this is what the Israelis want.

Q: Can you give an example of the backwardness of the textbooks?

A: There are, of course, many examples, but if we take only the geography books of fifth and sixth grades, we will see how old the information still taught in the schools is. For example, in the geography books which have not changed since the 1960s, the population of Spain is given as 31 million, and Portugal as 8.7 million while today's population figures are much more. Syria's population is referred to as 5.5 million; today this country's population is close to 10 million.

Q: Do you think this situation is a result of simple neglect or is it a planned policy?

A: I believe it is deliberate neglect which is based on a planned policy aimed at misinforming our young generations. This policy does not exist in the Jewish schools. Only after 30 years were the Israeli authorities forced to replace some of these geography books with new ones, as a result of continued protest and popular pressure. But the new textbooks still have not been introduced in the Palestinian schools; we still can't judge them — have not seen them yet.

With regard to the policy of misinformation embodied in the textbooks, I can give an example; there is a question in the sixth grade geography book, "What has French imperialism contributed to Algeria?" — as if French imperialism benefited Algeria. These books refer to the occupied West Bank and Gaza as "liberated" land, an attempt to distort the historical facts and politically mislead the young Palestinian generations.

Another aspect of historical falsification — the change in Palestinian place names — is seen in the eighth grade geography book. Safad (a town in north Palestine) is referred to as Zfat, Ibn Amer plain as Emeq Yisrael, Wadi al-Hawarith plain as Emeq Haifa, and so on.

Q: What is the content of the history and Arabic language programmes?

A: In the sixth grade history book, there is a chapter about Spain and several pages on the Jewish civilisation and heritage in Spain during the Middle Ages. There is not a single word about Arab civilisation and their presence in that country, although this Jewish culture grew and flourished under the shadow of Arab Islamic civilisation of which it was a part. Arab students study several courses over several years on the history of Jews and the Zionist movement. They only study the Arab history of the Abbasid and Omayad dynasties as one section of the sixth grade curriculum.

In the whole history programme there is no mention at all of the Palestinian people in Palestine. The books refer to Palestine in all periods as "*Eretz* Israel" and in some sections there are even hints that Palestine was unpopulated before Jewish immigration.

With regard to the Arabic language and literature the situation is no different. In literature, every selected text and poem praises kings, describes valleys and mountains, especially Hija'a's poems, those which censured tribes, kings, or other poets. There is not a single story or poem describing the love of the land, an adherence to the homeland, or the glory of Arabs and their good deeds.

Q: In what way is the Hebrew language and literature programme different in Israeli Jewish and Palestinian schools?

A: The Arabic language curriculum is designed to sever Arab youth from their national roots, submerge their national identity, and weaken their bonds with their Palestinian people. The Hebrew curriculum has the completely opposite aim. For Jewish students, main texts, short stories, and poems talk about the persecution of the Jews in Europe and "their dreams of coming to *Eretz* Israel." The purpose is clear. It aims at ceating and strengthening ties between the Jewish people and this pretended "homeland."

Q: If this is the situation which prevails in the Palestinian schools and in the teaching curricula, how do you interpret the statement made one year ago by the former minister of education, Zevulon Hammer, who announced that a special committee would be established to investigate the teaching curricula with a view "to curb Arab nationalism among Arab youth?"

A: The Progressive Teachers Bloc issued a response to the statement regarding the "national extremism" in Arab education shortly after that. We considered the minister's statement part of a terror campaign against Palestinian teachers and the preparation of Israeli public opinion for a dismissal campaign against Palestinian teachers who are accused by the Israeli authorities of not being loyal to the state of Israel.

Of course what has disturbed the Israeli officials is the growing participation of both teachers and students in protests against the aggresive and discriminatory policies carried out by Israelis against the Palestinians inside and outside.

Q: How have the Palestinian teachers reacted toward this kind of curricula over the years?

A: The oppressive policies, and especially the dismissals, which have been used by the Zionist establishment against Palestinians in general and teachers in particular since the creation of the state of Israel have prevented many teachers from resisting these curricula. During the fifties and the sixties, tens of teachers who refused to use the official curriculum and taught material from their memories about the Palestinian people, culture, and history were fired. This process in itself produced increasing national consciousness among other teachers and the students. With time, and especially after the qualitative change in the struggle of the Palestinians in Israel which began at the beginning of the seventies, new generations came and refused to bow to threats of firing and harassments by the Shin Bet.

I, myself, was called by the director of the Arab affairs department of education in Jerusalem in 1979 and was accused of distributing leaflets in the schools and inciting the students. The accusation was absolutely baseless; they only wanted to "curb" my growing readiness to work towards changing the curricula. Because of this attitude and of my activities in the Progressive Teachers Bloc, I have not been promoted for the last 16 years from teaching in primary schools although I hold BA degrees in both Arabic and history. They resort to this indirect method against me and against many other teachers because according to the law they can not fire competent veteran teachers without clear reasons.

Q: What has the Progressive Teachers Bloc done to change the conditions of education in the Palestinian schools?

A: It has been struggling for years in order to change Arab teaching curricula, especially in Arabic language, literature, and history. We have raised this subject in symposia in different villages, in press conferences, in newspapers, and in leaflets. We also raised the subject several times in the General Teachers Union in the Histadrut. We sent letters to the ministry of education and raised it in the Knesset through the representatives of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. We also have been issuing a quarterly *Al Takaddom* for the last 12 years in which we concentrated on the conditions of Arab education.

Q: What effect has this curricula had on Arab youth and is there an alternative national education?

A: Of course the aim of the policy adopted for Arab education by Israeli authorities is to cut the historical roots of the Palestinians who remained in their land. This policy succeeded for some time. But generally it has met with failure because the Arab students have been reading progressive Palestinian literature published in the local progressive press — *Al Ittihad* and *Al Jadid*. Their national consciousness maturity, and awareness has been reflected in their invitation to nationalist writers and poets to give lectures on militant Palestinian literature. I believe that this fact constitutes a blow to the policy of enforced ignorance and national submergence. But the teaching curricula still has adverse effects on the ability of the students to express themselves adequately, particularly in writing. Therefore, we will continue to struggle with the rest of the national and democratic forces and popular bodies to force the Israeli authorities to improve the curricula and the teaching level in the Palestinian schools. ■